NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

CAESAR'S TRIUMPHS
CELEBRATING THE SPOILS OF WAR

RESCUE MISSION
SAVING THE TEMPLES OF RAMSES THE GREAT

BIRTH OF BEAUTY
BOTTICELLI AND THE RENAISSANCE

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Veni, vidi, vici. I came, I saw, I conquered. Pithy, precise, parallel: The phrase was first found in the works of second-century A.D. historians Suetonius and Plutarch when they wrote about Julius Caesar's military successes. "*Veni, vidi, vici*" appears in their accounts of Caesar's lightning-fast, absolute victory over the kingdom of Pontus in 47 B.C.

Rome rewarded Caesar with a triumph for that victory, and history rewarded him with something far more enduring: a catchphrase.

When you start to look, "*Veni, vidi, vici*" (or its English equivalent) turns up everywhere. A 1724 Handel opera and the 1984 movie "Ghostbusters" both reference it. Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald, and Nat King Cole have all crooned "You came, you saw, you conquered me," in "These Foolish Things (Remind Me of You)." Spaghetti Westerns got in on the act in 1968 with "I Came, I Saw, I Shot." Jay-Z's 2003 song "Encore" employs it to remind listeners of his swift, dominant rise to fame.

Victory celebrations end. Glory fades. Heroes fall. But a clever turn of phrase? That can last forever.

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

RMN/RENÉ-GABRIEL OJÉDA

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SPRING AWAKENING
Botticelli's "Primavera" features several mythological figures (from left to right): the goddesses Venus and Flora, a nymph Chloris, and Zephyrus, god of the west wind. Uffizi Gallery, Florence

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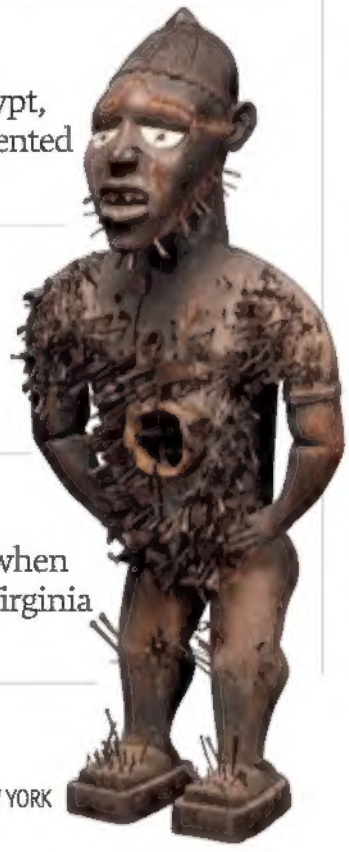

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Amelia Earhart's around-the-world flight was almost complete
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Buried by desert sands in Algeria, the lost city of Thamugadi
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A POINTED HISTORY
TWO SPINES from a prickly pear cactus (above) form the sharp end of what has now been confirmed was a tattoo tool used at an Ancestral Puebloan settlement in Utah around 2,000 years ago. The tool was dated by analyzing the area of the midden (trash heap) in which it was found. The spines are mounted in a sumac-twig handle (below). Placement of the black pigment on the spines is consistent with the proper depth to pierce and stain the epidermis.
0.4 inch
ANDREW GILLREATH-BROWN, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
ROBERT HUBNER, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

THE BIG KACHINA PANEL IN BEARS EARS NATIONAL MONUMENT, UTAH, WAS PRODUCED DURING ROUGHLY THE SAME PERIOD AS THE NEEDLE, LEADING SOME TO BELIEVE THE FIGURES ARE ADORNED WITH BODY ART.
ALAN CRESSLER

TURKEY PEN RUIN clings to the walls of Grand Gulch, Utah, in the Greater Bears Ears landscape. The site was occupied intermittently by Ancestral Puebloan peoples until about 1250. Drought may have led to its abandonment.

A NEW PICTURE

Ancient Ink: The Story of Tattoos in North America

Identification of an ancient tattoo needle confirms that the practice began in the Southwest much earlier than was previously thought.

Researchers have evidence that tattooists were busy honing their skills nearly two thousand years ago, pushing back the timescale for the practice in North America by almost a millennium.

Presenting their findings in the *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports,* a team of archaeologists has concluded that a tool, found near Bears Ears National Monument, is a tattoo needle. The unassuming artifact is made of cactus spines, less than half an inch long, inserted into a sumac-twig handle, and tied in place with yucca-leaf strips. Tips of the spines are stained with dark pigment. New research reveals that they were used for inking patterns onto people in the first or second centuries A.D., making the tiny instrument the earliest evidence of tattooing in the Southwest.

Revisiting the Past

Archaeologists first found the curious implement in 1972,

while excavating the Turkey Pen site near what today is Bears Ears National Monument in Utah. Found among artifacts in a midden (an ancient trash heap,) the little bundle of spines was boxed up and stored at Washington State University (WSU).

It took more than 40 years for scholars to identify the find. In 2017 Andrew Gillreath-Brown, a WSU anthropology doctoral candidate, came across the artifact and thought he knew what it might be. He showed it to Aaron Deter-Wolf, an expert on ancient tattooing practices.

In the year that followed, the pair made exact replicas of the tool and tested them. They established that the wear patterns on the used replicas matched those on the original.

They ran the artifact through a series of microscopy and X-ray analyses, revealing pigment on the cactus spines. The team dated the tool to between A.D. 79 and 130, predating the previous oldest tattoo implement found in the region by nearly a millennium.

Patterns of History

Archaeologists estimate that the Turkey Pen site was occupied by the Ancestral Puebloan civilization between 50 B.C. and A.D. 200, during the Basketmaker II period. Some pieces of rock art from this era depict figures with body adornment, which some speculate are tattoos. This tool is the first solid evidence that Ancestral Puebloan peoples practiced tattooing.

The discovery has major implications for the understanding of Ancestral Puebloan practices, as well as for the wider meanings of tattooing. Elsewhere in the world, tattooing is associated with agriculture and increases in population. The Ancestral Puebloans were experiencing such a rise at the time the tool was made, leading the team to speculate that tattoos strengthened a sense of social identity in a rapidly changing world. ■

HOT FOOD AND HIGH DWELLINGS

THE ANCESTRAL PUEBLOANS who fashioned the tattoo tool were part of the Basketmaker II culture. Their artifacts, dwellings, and artworks have been found across the American Southwest in Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. Lasting about a millennium, from 500 B.C. to A.D. 500, the Basketmaker II period coincides with the transition to agriculture. The period gets its name from the abundance of baskets found at archaeological sites. These skillfully woven baskets were often sealed with pine pitch, making them watertight. The baskets could be used in food preparation by placing fire-warmed stones inside to heat food. Later, Ancestral Puebloan peoples began living in cliff dwellings, which still dot the landscape throughout the Southwest.

COLORFUL BASKETS (RIGHT) ARE TYPICAL OF THOSE MADE BY THE BASKETMAKER II CULTURE. A CLIFF DWELLING NEAR BEARS EARS NATIONAL MONUMENT, UTAH (BELOW), IS NAMED "HOUSE ON FIRE," FOR ITS VIBRANT ROCK FORMATIONS. IT WAS SETTLED CIRCA A.D. 750.

8RIDGEMAN

GETTY

Princess Tarakanova, Pretender to the Throne

Catherine the Great of Russia faced many threats to her rule during her 30-year reign, but the attempts of one imposter princess became legendary.

The Life of an Imposter

January 1762

Elizabeth of Russia dies, and is succeeded by her nephew, Peter III. Peter's wife, Sophie, is a German princess.

July 1762

Following a coup in which Sophie forces her husband to abdicate, Sophie becomes Catherine II. Peter dies in prison.

1772

A young woman in Paris claims to be the daughter of the late Empress Elizabeth and attracts the support of wealthy men.

1774

Catherine II orders Count Alexei Orlov to lure the mystery woman into a trap. She is arrested and sent to Russia.

1775

The false princess dies while imprisoned in St. Petersburg. Her true identity is never discovered.

Empress Catherine II of Russia was no stranger to conspiracies and cabals orchestrated by her enemies, but in the early 1770s, one mysterious woman's claim to the throne would expose deep insecurities underlying Catherine's reign. The empress ordered that "Princess Vladimir" (later known as "Princess Tarakanova") be imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg.

Although Catherine II is better now known as Catherine the Great, her reign had a rocky start. Empress Elizabeth, before she died in 1762, had named Peter, her nephew and Catherine's husband, heir to the throne. Six months after her death, a coup, led by Catherine, forced Peter III to abdicate. About a week later, imprisoned in a palace in Ropsha outside of St. Petersburg, Peter died while in the care of Catherine's allies. Rumors spread that Catherine had orchestrated her husband's murder.

Threats to the Throne

The new empress faced challenges from many sides. Her sweeping political reforms sparked opposition from a sector of the conservative Russian nobility. In addition, Polish powers, opposed to Russia's interference in their country, also had a vested interest in undermining the new empress. Since her accession to the throne, Catherine had exerted increasing pressure on Poland, practically turning it into a Russian protectorate.

In 1772, Russia annexed extensive territories east of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom, while Prussia and Austria did the same in the west and south. Many nobles who had fought against Russia went into exile, waiting for an opportunity to resume the struggle against Catherine. It was within this context of political turmoil that the threat of several pretenders to the throne arose.

The most dangerous uprising to threaten Catherine's rule came in 1773, when a former army officer named Yemelyan Pugachev claimed to be Catherine's dead husband Peter III. Pugachev led a group of armed peasants rebelling against the harsh socioeconomic conditions of the times. With the help of thousands of supporters, Pugachev captured a large amount of Russian territory, but Catherine, recognizing the seriousness of the rebellion, sent the army to defeat him. Pugachev was seized and publicly beheaded in 1775.

The enigmatic imposter claimed she was the daughter of Peter's predecessor, Elizabeth of Russia.

ELIZABETH I OF RUSSIA, HERMITAGE MUSEUM, ST. PETERSBURG

FINE ART IMAGES/ALBUM

LOCKED AWAY

IN 1864, Russian artist Konstantin Flavitsky created what would become his most notorious painting, "The Princess Tarakanova, in the Peter and Paul Fortress, at the Time of the Flood." According to a romanticized legend, Catherine the Great ordered the false princess imprisoned in a cell that was known to flood when the icy waters of the Neva River rose. Flavitsky's painting allegedly caused a furor among the Russian royal family, who preferred that the story of this particular pretender to the throne remain a closely guarded one. Flavitsky was then forced to claim that his inspiration for the painting had instead been drawn from a novel rather than history.

OIL PAINTING BY KONSTANTIN FLAVITSKY, 1864, STATE TRETYAKOV GALLERY, MOSCOW

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Elizabeth's Heir?

Meanwhile another drama was brewing for Catherine in France. In 1772, an enigmatic woman of great beauty, refined manner, and sparkling wit charmed her way into the salons of the French capital as the "Princess Vladimir." She claimed she was the illegitimate daughter of Empress Elizabeth, Peter III's cousin, and legitimate heir to the Russian throne.

According to her story, she was born in St. Petersburg in 1753, and then taken to Persia. She grew up in the home of a Persian nobleman. There, a tutor made the startling revelation of her "true" parentage; she was the product of an affair between Elizabeth and her favorite, Count Aleksey G. Razumovsky.

Sources say that Empress Elizabeth did have an illegitimate daughter with Razumovsky. Her name was Princess Augusta Tarakanova, and she spent most of her life in solitude as a nun, confined to Moscow's St. John's Convent on Catherine's orders. Known only as Sister Dofiya, her true identity remained hidden during her lifetime. She was not permitted visitors until after Catherine's death in 1796. Although never formally acknowledged, Augusta's existence seemed an open secret and strengthened the rumors surrounding the pretender in France.

Princess Vladimir was attracting a lot of attention in elite social circles in Paris. The faux princess was accompanied by a German man named Baron Embs, who claimed to be a relative of hers, and by the Baron de Schenk, who acted as a kind of private secretary. Princess Vladimir's Parisian home was soon frequented by various wealthy

THE FALSE TSAR

PRIOR TO CATHERINE II, pretenders to the throne had often challenged Russia's reigning ruler. Catherine's 30-year reign was marked by more than two dozen such imposters. Of these, Yemelyan Pugachev's attempt to lead a peasant revolt by claiming he was the deceased Peter III was the most serious. Until his defeat in 1775, Pugachev harnessed social discontent to conquer swathes of Russia, including the city of Kazan.

PUGACHEV RECEIVING DONATIONS OF WEAPONS DURING THE REVOLT THAT HE LED AGAINST CATHERINE THE GREAT BETWEEN 1773 AND 1775. EARLY 20TH-CENTURY OIL PAINTING BY MIKHAIL I. AVILOV

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

and noble suitors, including wealthy Frenchmen and Polish aristocrats, some of whom opposed Catherine's reign. A captivating adventuress, the "princess" lived richly at their expense.

But the glittering Paris sojourn ended as suddenly as it had begun. "Baron Embs," it seemed, was not a baron at all, but a merchant from Ghent whose debts were catching up to him. With her finances imperiled, the pretender traveled across Europe, assuming a new alias (Fraulein Frank, Madame Tremouille, and Countess Selinski, among them) with each new residence. In May 1774, she moved to Venice, quickly working her way into aristocratic circles. But here a trap was laid for her.

Empress Catherine was alarmed when news of this impostor reached her. Indeed, if this woman was the late Empress Elizabeth's daughter, she would have a stronger claim to Russian rule than Catherine did. Before she married Peter III, Catherine was Sophie von Anhalt-Zerbst, a German princess, so she had no direct birthright to the Russian throne. If Catherine's enemies decided to back the false princess, the empress's reign could be in jeopardy.

Catherine set in motion a devious plan to lure the pretender princess to Russia. There, under Catherine's absolute authority, any potential imperial ambitions could be quashed. To achieve her plan, Catherine appealed to Count Alexei Orlov, the brother of her companion, Grigory Orlov.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

CATHERINE II expanded Russia's territory, annexing Crimea and part of Poland. Despite initial social reforms, she later introduced laws that gave even greater power to the nobility while trapping the serfs as a permanent underclass. These political and social changes led to intense discontent, which threatened Catherine's reign.

CATHERINE II, AMBRAS CASTLE, INNSBRUCK, AUSTRIA

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

ISLAND FORTRESS
The imposter princess was imprisoned in the imposing Peter and Paul Fortress on the Neva River in St. Petersburg, Russia. She died in a cell here in 1775.

LOREMUS W. BUSS/GETTY IMAGES

For Better, for Worse

Alexei Orlov took his time laying the trap. First, he planted fabricated rumors throughout Venice that he himself had fallen out of favor with Catherine. Intrigued, the impostor princess wrote to him, offering her support and reminding him that the empress was their common enemy. She assured Orlov that if he supported her once she was appointed empress, she would let him govern alongside her. He proposed that they meet in person and chose the Italian port of Livorno, where the Russian fleet was anchored.

At their meeting, the count assured the princess of his unconditional support. He dared to take the pretense a step further, and feigning a sudden passion, asked her to marry him. Whether she actually fell for Orlov's seductive wiles or simply judged him a powerful ally, she accepted the proposal, and the wedding was set for a few weeks later.

With the excuse of ensuring that the marriage had all the correct legalities in place, Orlov requested that the ceremony be held on board the ship he captained, and thereby technically on Russian territory. On the day of the wedding, wearing her finery, the princess climbed into a skiff that ferried her out to the ship. But as she stepped onto the ship's deck, she was seized by a squad of soldiers commanded by Orlov himself, who arrested her in the name of Catherine II.

Princess in Prison

The ship sailed immediately to St. Petersburg, where Princess Tarakanova was imprisoned in a gloomy cell of the Peter and Paul Fortress. She was brutally interrogated, but even under torture, she did not contradict herself, admit to fraud, or deny her royal descent.

Catherine realized that nothing would persuade this daring woman to drop her challenge to the imperial throne and so ordered her imprisoned for life. Never having revealed her true identity, the princess died in her cell in 1775, likely succumbing to tuberculosis. She was buried without ceremony in the fortress graveyard. Her dramatic story and carefully orchestrated posturing became the subject of books, films, plays, and Konstantin Flavitsky's famous painting.

In the many historical treatments of her life, she is usually referred to as "Princess Tarakanova," even though in her own time, this moniker was not among her many aliases. Her birthplace and real name are still unknown and will perhaps never be discovered. But as one of the most famous of Russia's many pretenders to the throne, the story of this impostor princess still lends historical fact to a romantic legend.

—María Pilar Queralt

AMELIA EARHART stands
before her Lockheed Electra
the plane in which she
disappeared in July 1937

The Mystery of Amelia Earhart's Last Flight

The aviator was nearing the end of her round-the-world flight when her plane vanished over the Pacific in July 1937. More than eight decades later, the mystery of her disappearance—and the quest to solve it—still survive.

On July 2, 1937, Amelia Earhart flew toward Howland Island, one of the last stops on her attempt to circumnavigate the globe. Nearing the tiny Pacific atoll, she radioed the *Itasca*, a United States Coast Guard cutter anchored off Howland's coast, to ask it to guide her onto land with radio signals.

"KHAQQ (the Lockheed Electra 10E's call sign) calling *Itasca:* We must be on you but cannot see you ... gas is running low ... been unable to reach you by radio ... we are flying at 1,000 feet."

Earhart's last confirmed message indicated that she was flying on a northwest-to-southeast navigational line that bisected the island, but she did not indicate in which direction she was heading. After that communication at 8:43 a.m., radio contact was lost, and no one knows what happened next.

Fateful Final Flight

Earhart's achievements in aviation had already made her an international household name when, in 1937, she set out to become the first woman to fly around the world, a grueling 29,000-mile eastbound journey that roughly followed the Equator. A failed attempt in March damaged her plane, but after repairs, she and her navigator, Fred Noonan, departed from Oakland, California, on May 21.

After 22,000 miles, 40 days, and more than 20 stops, they arrived in Lae, on the eastern coast of Papua New Guinea. On the morning of July 2, Earhart and Noonan began what was expected to be the hardest leg of their trip: to Howland Island, a 1.5-mile-long coral atoll in the central Pacific Ocean. More than 2,500 miles of ocean stretched between Lae and the remote spit of land that was their next stop to refuel.

RECORD-BREAKER

AS WELL AS being the first woman to complete record-breaking solo flights, Earhart was also the first woman to receive the Distinguished Flying Cross, awarded to her in 1932 for "heroism or extraordinary achievement while participating in an aerial flight." A co-founder of the all-female aviators' club the Ninety-Nines, Earhart strove to open up aviation to as many women as possible.

FLYING CROSS GRANTED TO AMELIA EARHART BY THE U.S. CONGRESS

DMTR KESSEL/LIFE/GETTY IMAGES

PICTURING AMELIA

A 2017 History Channel documentary claimed to have found proof of a theory that Earhart and Noonan landed near the Japanese-controlled Marshall Islands and were taken hostage, ultimately dying in a prison on Saipan. Using facial recognition and other tests on a blurry photo of people on a dock in Jaluit Atoll, one of the Marshall Islands, they concluded that the aviator and her navigator were two of the people pictured. But a Japanese history blogger found the same photo in a 1935 book in Japan's national library, quickly debunking the theory that the image could have been taken after Earhart's 1937 disappearance.

U.S. NATIONAL ARCHIVES

PHOTOGRAPHED ON JALUIT ATOLL, THE MARSHALL ISLANDS, THIS COUPLE IS BELIEVED BY SOME TO BE EARHART AND NOONAN IN 1937. THE IMAGE HAS SINCE BEEN DATED TO 1935.

AMELIA EARHART IN THE COCKPIT OF HER LOCKHEED ELECTRA BEFORE IT VANISHED IN 1937
GETTY IMAGES

After hours of flight, during their final approach to Howland, Earhart radioed the *Itasca*. The ship was receiving her transmissions—at one point the signal was so strong that the ship's radio operator ran to the deck to search the skies for Earhart's plane—but the signals the ship returned did not reach Earhart and Noonan, who were flying unguided above the clouds.

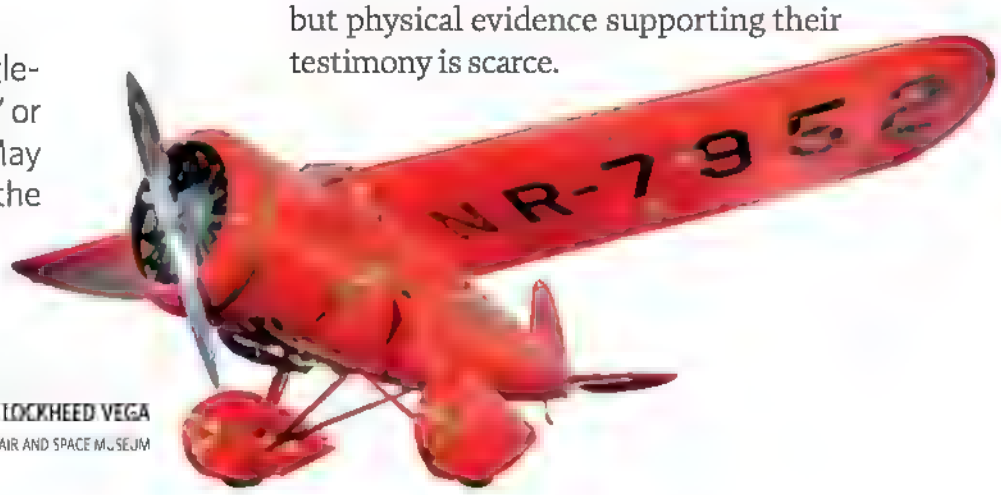
The Electra never made it to Howland Island, and a massive search failed to find any sign of the missing aviator and her plane. Two weeks later, the United States declared Amelia Earhart and Fred Noonan lost at sea. The U.S. government's official position is that the Electra, unable to establish radio contact with the *Itasca*, ran out of fuel and crashed into the ocean.

In Search of Amelia

Several expeditions in the past 15 years have tried to locate the plane's wreckage. By studying Earhart's final radio transmissions and calculating what is known about the Electra's fuel supply, researchers have narrowed their search to a 630-square-mile area of ocean. Some believe that Earhart and Noonan flew north, toward the Marshall Islands, where they crashed and were captured by Japan, who controlled that area. Eyewitnesses claimed to have seen Earhart in a prison camp on Saipan, but physical evidence supporting their testimony is scarce.

SOLO FEATS

EARHART made two of her history-making flights in the single-engine Lockheed 5B Vega. Nicknaming it her "Little Red Bus" or "Old Bessie, the Fire Horse," Earhart was at the controls in May 1932 when she became the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic. That summer, she became the first woman to fly solo nonstop across the U.S. from California to New Jersey, where she was welcomed by a huge crowd.



AMELIA EARHART'S LOCKHEED VEGA
ER C LONG, SM THSONIAN NAT ONAL AIR AND SPACE MUSEUM

Was Earhart a Castaway?

SINCE 1989, the International Group for Historic Aircraft Recovery (TIGHAR) has launched 12 expeditions on Nikumaroro Island, a remote atoll in the Pacific. They have uncovered various objects dating to the 1930s that they believe could have belonged to Earhart and Noonan.

Pocket knife that would have been useful for a castaway
Zipper pull that could have been from a jacket or pants
Glass jar believed to have held freckle cream
Section of repaired fuselage that TIGHAR believes could have come from the Electra

FUSELAGE: AP IMAGES/GTRES. **ZIPPER AND KNIFE:** TIGHAR. **JAR:** TIGHAR /GETTY IMAGES

Others, like the International Group for Historic Aircraft Recovery (TIGHAR), believe the plane flew south toward the Phoenix Islands and landed on a reef on Nikumaroro (then Gardner) Island, where they lived as castaways for days or weeks.

TIGHAR has sent several expeditions to the island, where they discovered the remnants of a campsite and various artifacts. Called the "Seven Site," it matched the description of a location where 13 human bones were found in 1940, when Nikumaroro was under British control. The bones were sent to Fiji, where two doctors examined them and found that they belonged to a male. The collected bones were subsequently lost, but the report survived.

Most recently, in July 2017, TIGHAR and the National Geographic Society sent four forensic sniffing dogs and an archaeological team to Nikumaroro to see if any bones remained. Specially trained, the dogs alert to the scent of human decomposition. Within moments of arriving at the Seven Site, the dogs—which have a higher success rate than radar—alerted, but the team did not unearth any specimens. They gathered soil samples from the area to analyze for human DNA.

New studies on the 13 bones found in 1940 may still help bolster the castaway theory. In 2018, forensic analysis suggested the opposite of the Fiji doctors' conclusion: The bones were from a female skeleton, one of similar height and body type to Earhart. Forensic anthropologist Richard Jantz used photographs and articles of Earhart's clothing to analyze the bones' measurements. The evidence, he asserts, "strongly supports the conclusion that the Nikumaroro bones belonged to Amelia Earhart" or that "they are from someone very similar to her."

Also in 2018, TIGHAR published a paper analyzing radio signals from the night Earhart disappeared. In July 1939 several radio listeners from as far away as St. Petersburg, Florida, and Toronto, Canada, reported hearing a woman's distress calls; TIGHAR believes the voice was Earhart's, and their paper explains how it could be possible for her transmissions to have traveled so far.

Earhart quipped that her round-the-world flight was "just for fun," but the quest to understand Earhart's fate has been a serious work in progress for more than 80 years. The first time Earhart flew, a 10-minute ascent with World War I pilot Frank Hawks, she made a life-changing decision. "By the time I had got two or three hundred feet off the ground, I knew I had to fly," she would later recall. Today, researchers remain as determined to solve her disappearance as Earhart was to fly.

—Alec Forssmann

PHARAONIC FACELIFT

Photographed in 1966, faces of three of four colossal statues at the entrance to the Great Temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel await reunion with their bodies.

JOHN KESHISHIAN/NGS

SAVING THE TEMPLES OF ABU SIMBEL

In 1960, ancient icons in Upper Egypt were threatened by a proposed dam on the Nile. If the world did nothing, floodwaters would drown historic sites, including Ramses II's colossal temple complex at Abu Simbel.

ESTHER PEREZ

Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley found inspiration in the long history of Egypt when he penned "Ozymandias" around 1818. In the poem, a traveler in the desert comes across the broken ruins of a huge statue:

And on the pedestal these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

A meditation on impermanence, Shelley's work shows how even the strongest are powerless against time and change.

Ozymandias is another name for Ramses II, the most powerful king of Egypt's 19th dynasty. Ramses' reign began a golden age in Egypt, brought on by his successful military campaigns into the Levant, Nubia, and Syria. Each of these victories was memorialized by new cities, elaborate temples, and massive statues erected all over his realm.

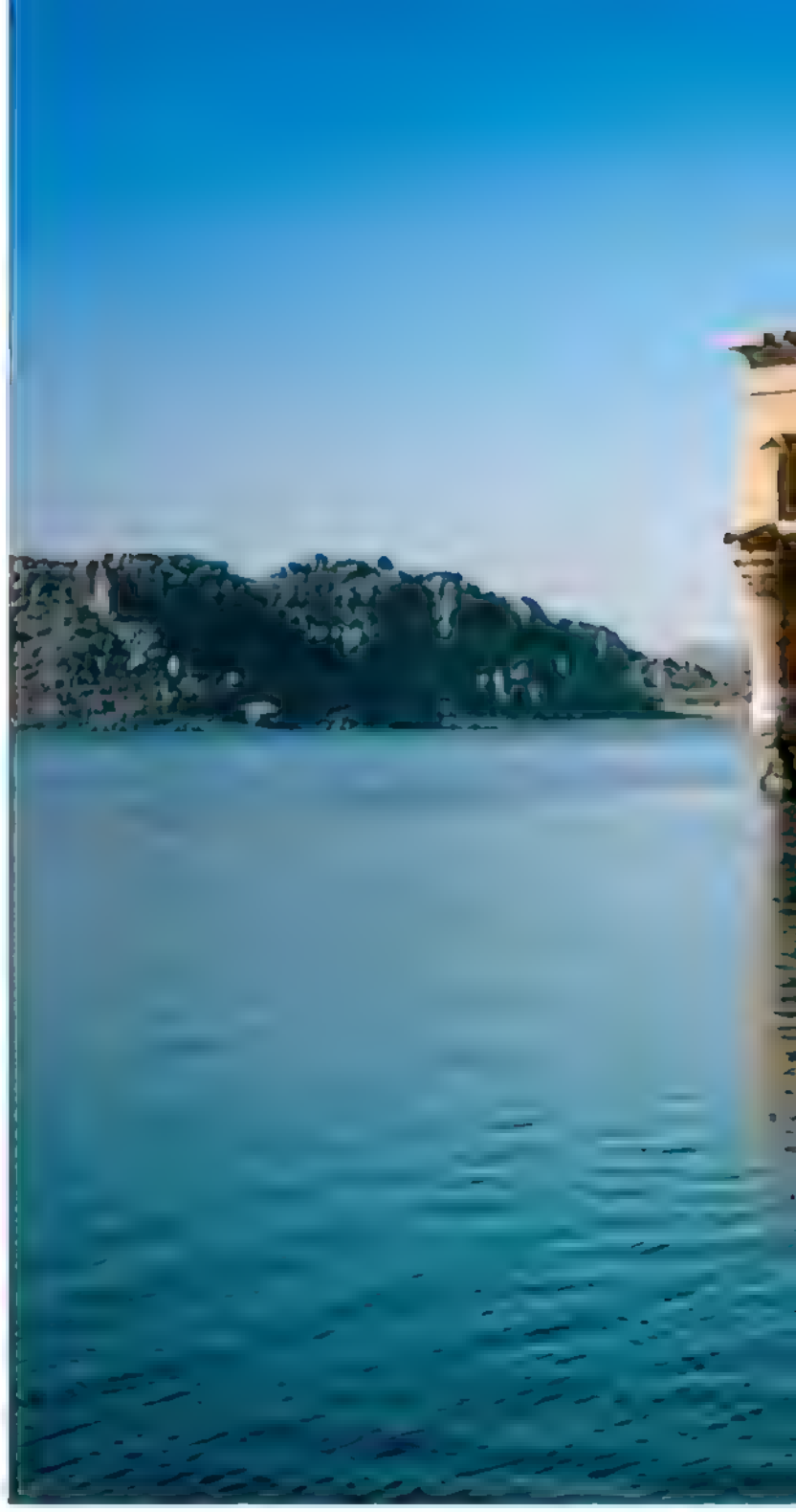
Among his many projects were the temples of Abu Simbel in Upper Egypt. Located in Nubia along the Nile river, they were carved out of solid rock. They commemorated a victory over the Hittites at Kadesh in 1275 B.C., and reminded Nubia of Egyptian dominance. Like many ancient structures, they eventually fell into disuse, true to the themes of "Ozymandias." Sands moved in and buried the temples of Abu Simbel for millennia.

In 1813, archaeologists recovered Ramses' temples from the desert, and their immortality seemed assured until 1960, when plans to dam the Nile threatened to submerge them and other ancient monuments in the region. To save them, Egypt sponsored a massive international effort to launch the most complex archaeological rescue mission of all time: to move entire sites to higher ground.

SAVED FROM THE DELUGE

Originally housed in the ancient fortress of Buhen in Sudan, this 13th-century B.C. relief (above) depicts a viceroy of Ramses II before the snake goddess Renenutet. The fortress now lies under Lake Nasser. British Museum, London

ALBUM



Before the Flood

At almost 13,000 feet in length, the Aswan High Dam was to be built just south of the Nile-side city of Aswan, upstream of Luxor. The brainchild

UNITED EFFORT

1960
As construction of the Aswan High Dam proceeds, UNESCO appeals to the international community to help preserve the monuments of Nubia.

1964
In parallel with the dismantling of other sites, the salvage of Abu Simbel begins. A team begins to cut the structures into more than a thousand blocks.

1966
The temples are successfully dismantled months before their old site floods. Reassembly, which will be completed in 1968, begins on higher ground.

UNDERWATER TEMPLES
Trajan's Kiosk, part of the temple complex of Philae, lies submerged in the 1970s. Even before the construction of the Aswan High Dam in 1960, Philae suffered repeated flooding from a dam built in 1902. Soon after this picture was taken, the complex was transferred to dry land on Agilkia.
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

of Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, it would prevent destructive flooding, generate power, and boost agriculture in the region.

The project, however, had major drawbacks. The creation of Lake Nasser, a 298-mile-long artificial reservoir upriver from the dam, and whose southern limits extend into Sudan, would require the resettlement of 90,000 people. The impact on the monuments that studded the Nubian region would also be catastrophic. A smaller dam, built in 1902, had already flooded some of the monuments, including the temple complex of Philae. The new project further threatened this area, as well as scores of other sites, including the Abu Simbel complex near the Egypt-Sudan border.

In 1960, the executive committee of UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) launched its International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, appealing for the help of its member states. Some 30 countries formed national committees—made up of researchers, archaeologists, historians, engineers, and architects—to carry out the rescue mission. Following an aerial survey that identified the location of the archaeological areas most likely to be flooded, some 20 foreign delegations launched campaigns to safeguard the monuments.

STAMP ISSUED BY THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT (BELOW) TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THE ENDANGERED NUBIAN MONUMENTS
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

1980
One year after the successful re-grouping of the Philae temple complex on an island, UNESCO formally concludes its Nubia campaign.

THE SURVIVORS AND THE SUBMERGED

IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE to save all of the historic monuments and archaeological sites from the floodwaters created by construction of the Aswan High Dam in 1960. Despite the remarkable campaign that saved more than 20 structures, including Ramses II's massive temples at Abu Simbel, many other monuments (those shown in blue), could not be salvaged. They are now submerged in Lake Nasser. Four of the rescued structures had very different fates. They did not stay in the region, but were relocated far away. In gratitude for their help, Egypt gave a temple to each of four countries—Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United States—that played a significant role in saving them.

UNESCO organized fund-raising to rescue and preserve as many of the archaeological monuments and sites as possible. Thirty countries even issued stamps depicting the monuments as part of a fund-raising drive to cover the costs of the international campaign.

The Egyptian government and UNESCO experts drew up a list of monuments threatened by the dam. A survey of just a few revealed their huge historical range spanning more than 2,000 years of human civilization. The sites included the ancient fortress of Buhen in Sudan, built by Senusret III in the 19th century B.C. It was excavated as part of the UNESCO project, and two temples were dismantled and transferred. The fortress itself, however, could not be saved and is now under water.

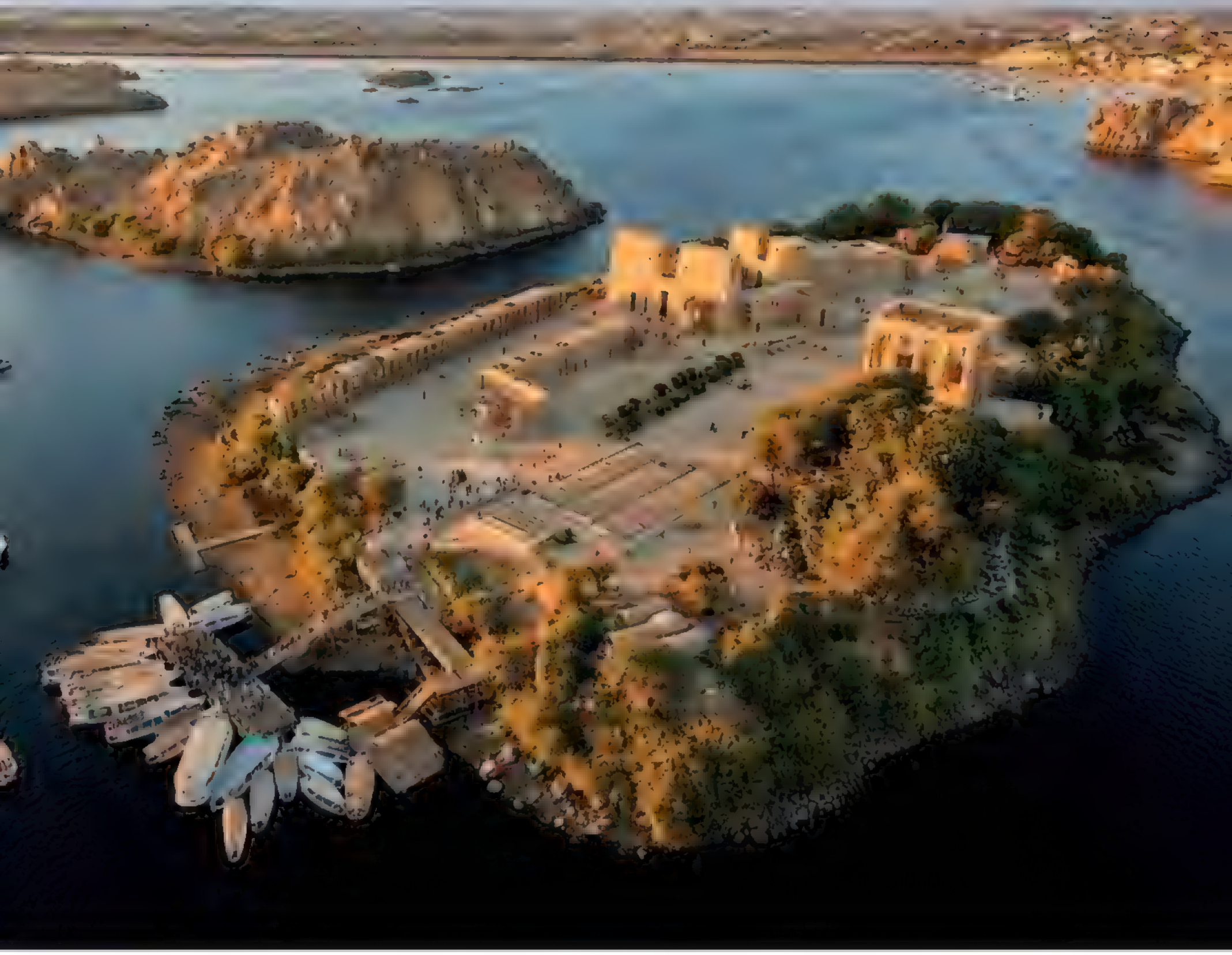
Other sites that were successfully transferred include: the Temple of Amada, built by Thutmose III in the 15th century B.C.; Wadi es-Sebua, another Ramses II–era temple of the 13th century B.C., famous for its avenue of sphinxes; and the Temple of Kalabsha, completed around the time Octavian declared himself the Roman Emperor Augustus in 27 B.C.

The temple complex of the island of Philae, whose decorations had been severely damaged by partial flooding caused by the earlier dam project, extends the timescale of the Nubian monuments into the Christian era. The complex was mainly built in the third century B.C., and was considered sacred to the goddess Isis. Later, a gate was erected by Emperor Hadrian in the second century A.D., and the temple was converted into a Church in A.D. 540 during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian. Philae was eventually moved to safety on the nearby island of Agilkea.

In addition to relocating monuments, major excavations across the whole of the Nubia region were also carried out as the dam project was completed. As a result, a vast wealth of previously unknown heritage was unearthed, ranging from Stone Age artifacts to a ninth-century church decorated with murals.

Monumental Mission

The greatest challenge was saving the twin Temples of Abu Simbel, whose four colossal statues



of Ramses II had become an iconic image of Egypt. The engineering feats and the expense were daunting. The team had a hard deadline, as Lake Nasser would reach full capacity in 1966.

In 1963, after numerous ideas were proposed and rejected, it was decided that Ramses's temples would be cut into more than a thousand blocks and relocated to a higher spot. The mission required complex infrastructure. A temporary dam was built around the site to keep it dry. A network of supply roads had to be laid, an electricity-generating station had to be installed, and accommodations had to be provided for the thousands of laborers involved in the project.

Dismantling concluded in April 1966. Reconstruction followed, and *National Geographic* magazine documented the colossal effort of excavating the new site, moving the blocks, and putting the pieces back together. After more than two years of painstaking work, Abu Simbel was inaugurated in its new, higher location on September 22, 1968.

This effort remains unequalled in the history of archaeology. The former director of the Egyptian Monuments of Nubia Service later wrote: "Thus the most imposing monument ever hewn out of rock, and the jewel of the Nubian treasures, had been saved. At the same time, the transfer of the temples fulfilled King Ramses II's dream of immortalizing his temple."

ESTHER PONS is a curator in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at Spain's National Archaeological Museum in Madrid.

SAFE ON DRY LAND

The temples salvaged on the island of Philae were reconstructed on nearby Agilkia Island (above). The complex was completed in 1979, a year before UNESCO formally declared the Nubian project successfully accomplished.

GEORGE STEINMETZ/GETTY IMAGES

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL IS FRONTED BY FOUR GIANT FIGURES OF RAMSES II. IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL THAT THEY WERE ONCE CUT INTO A MULTITUDE OF PIECES AS PART OF THE RELOCATION EFFORT.

JOSE MIGUEL HERNANDEZ/AGE

A HUGE UNDERTAKING

MOVING MOUNTAINS

The clock was ticking and the waters were rising, but engineering ingenuity saved the Abu Simbel temples. Overcoming astonishing technical obstacles, between 1963 and 1968 nearly 330,000 tons of stone were moved; temples were carefully taken apart, moved to higher ground, and put back together.

Try to imagine Notre Dame Cathedral carved into stone, a French engineer told journalists during the planning stages for the salvage operation of Abu Simbel: "Above, there are cliffs weighing 300,000 tons. The temples carved inside are supported not by their pillars . . . but by the internal stresses of the tremendous mass of stone above them. How do you save such a place?"Some suggested building a transparent pyramid that would allow the temples to be viewed underwater from the outside; others suggested a permanent dam around the temple that would require round-the-clock pumping to keep it dry. Eventually, engineers agreed on a solution: Remove the entire cliff above the two temples, cut the complex into 1,050 blocks, move everything to the new site, and then reassemble them.

ROBERT W. NICHOLSON/NGS

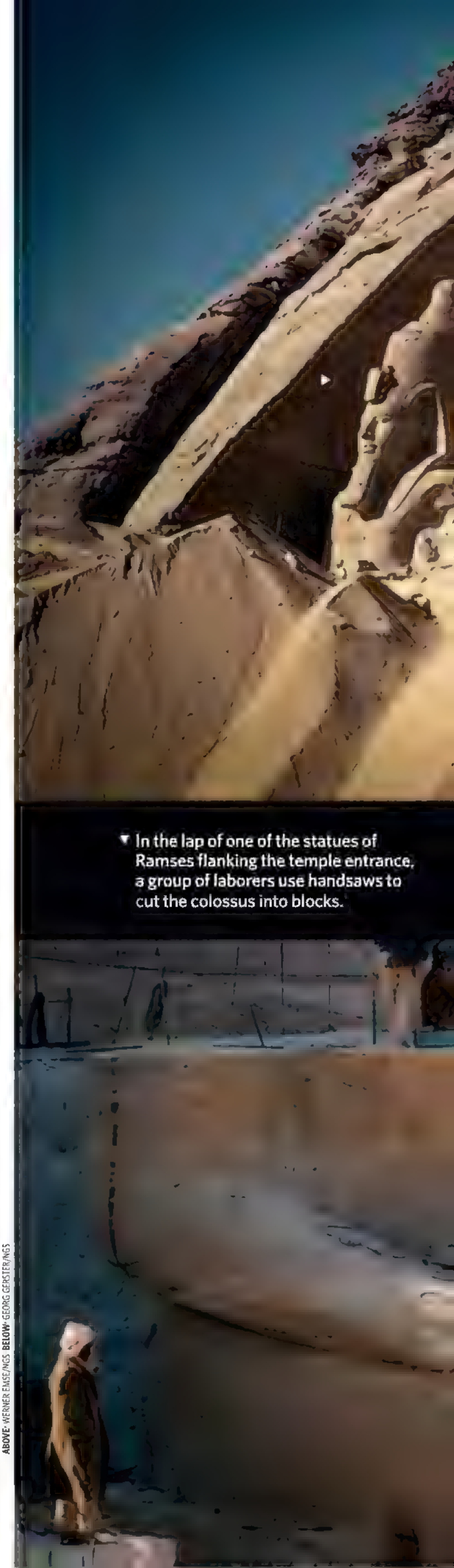
HIGH AND DRY

The illustration (left) shows both the current and original locations of the Abu Simbel temples. The original site rests more than 200 feet below, completely submerged by the waters of Lake Nasser. To accommodate the temples at their new sites, which were flat, engineers had to figure out how to reproduce the original environment as faithfully as possible. To replicate the look of cliff faces, they designed two artificial mounds made of reinforced concrete, which were then covered with a rocky surface to resemble the spot where Ramses II built his temples more than 3,000 years ago. Looking out over the lake, they remain icons of ancient Egypt.

CUT WITH CARE
Employing special saws, a stonecutter (above) makes a precise incision on the exterior of a temple of Abu Simbel. Blocks cut from less visible parts of the temple were made by gas-powered saws.
GEORG GERSTER/NGS

STRENGTH AND PRECISION

BEGINNING IN 1964, an army of laborers began clearing tons of rock from above and around the two temples. Steel props were erected to support the edifice during the removal. The façades were covered by ramps of sand to protect them against damage. Once that had been carried out, the more delicate operation of cutting the hypogea—the chambers embedded in the cliff—could begin. Expert *marmisti* (marble workers) from northern Italy were employed to cut the blocks, which were not to exceed 20 tons for walls and ceilings and 30 tons for the façade. The contract specified that the cuts had to be no more than a quarter of an inch wide, but the *marmistis'* skill at making finer cuts, especially in the decorative elements, was essential in maintaining the integrity of the sculptures. Once cut, the blocks were labeled with a code that indicated their original position, placed in reinforced concrete crates, and then stored.



▼ In the lap of one of the statues of Ramses flanking the temple entrance, a group of laborers use handsaws to cut the colossus into blocks.

ABOVE: WERNER EMSE/NGS BELOW: GEORG GERSTER/NGS

▲ A bulldozer scales a sand ramp in front of the Great Temple of Ramses II. The ramp provided access to the structure, as well as protection.

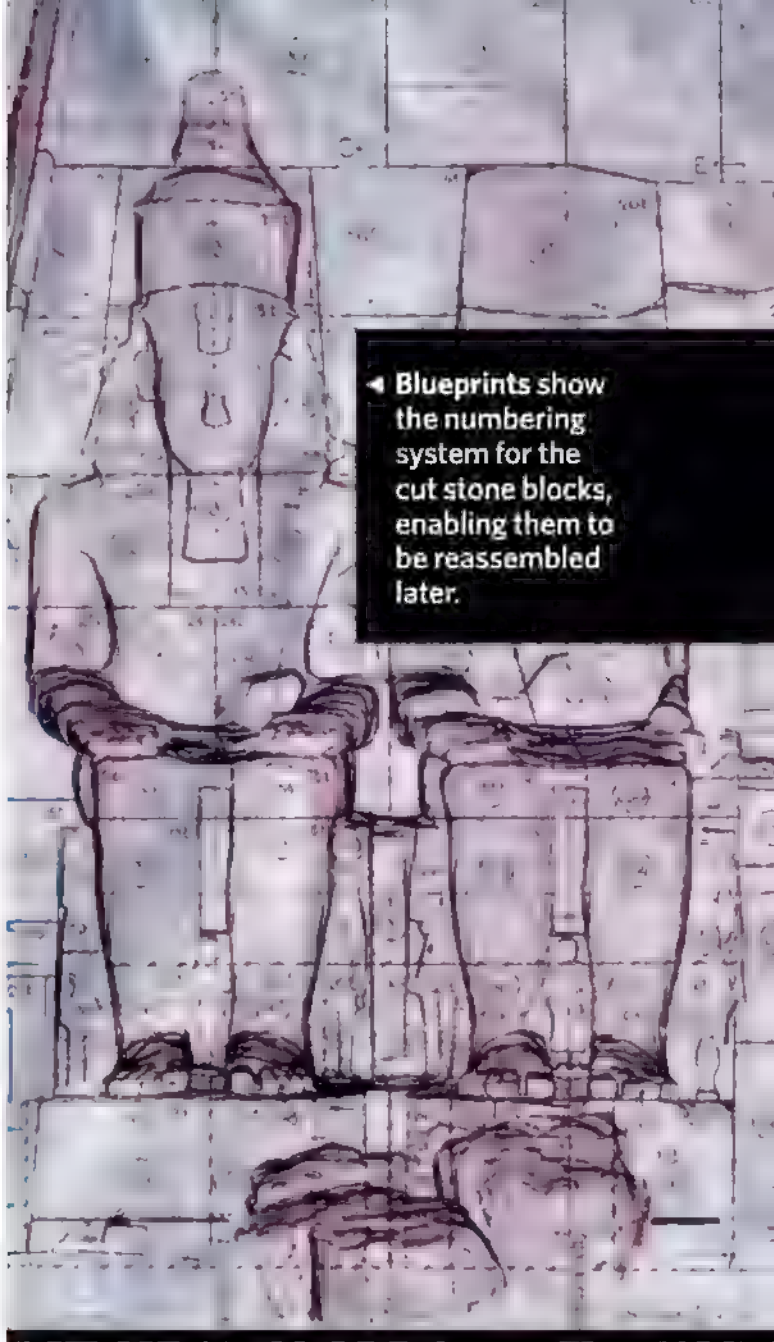
▼ Two stonecutters, one Italian the other Egyptian, work together to make a cut in the ceiling of the Great Temple.

▲ Power saws are used to cut blocks of stone from the upper part of the Temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel.

MOVING IN
Photographed in January 1966, laborers position the first stone of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel at its new location above Lake Nasser.
GEORG GERSTER, NGS

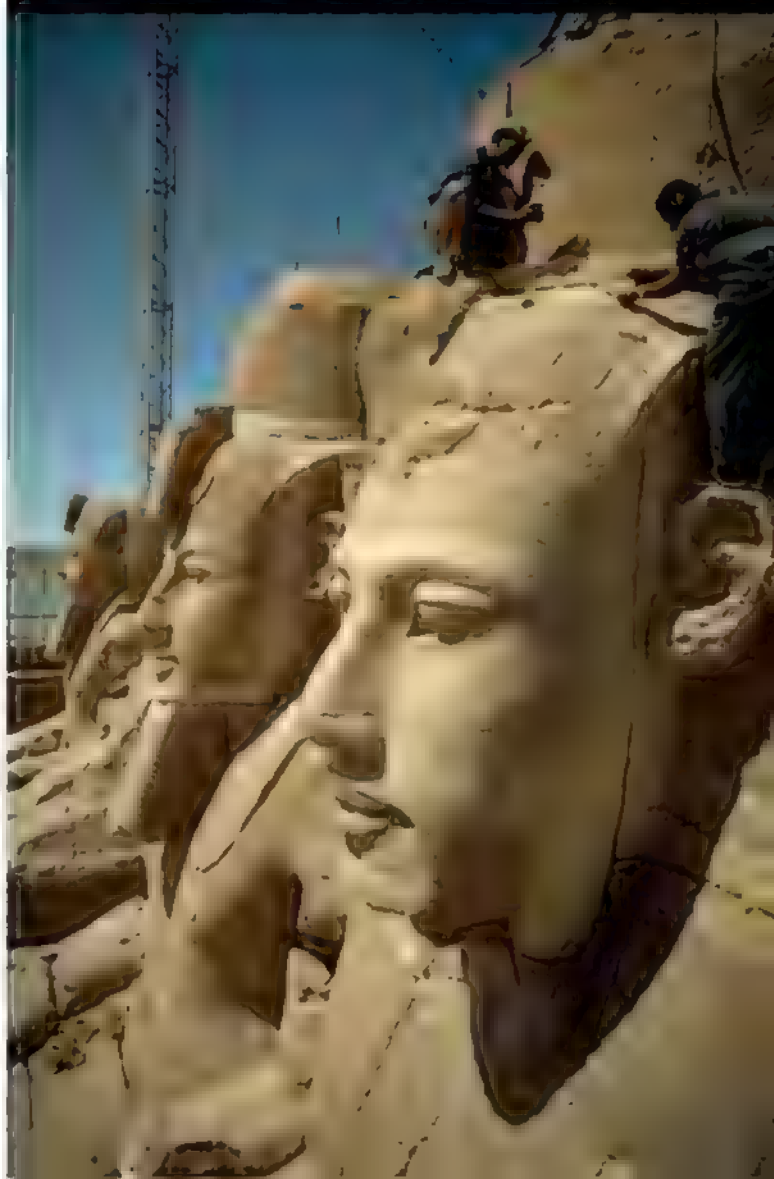
PUTTING THE PIECES IN PLACE

RECONSTRUCTING the temple complex took place between 1966 and 1968. Blocks were transported to the new site, where laborers fitted them into place. In a 1969 article published in *National Geographic* magazine, Swiss journalist and photographer Georg Gerster wrote: "The climax of the reassembly came on September 14, 1966 ... The ceremony had all the appearance of a triumphal procession. As a flatbed trailer moved the giant sandstone face at a snail's pace toward the new site, . . . All of new Abu Simbel's 1,530 residents—engineers, workers, and their families—watched . . . When the pharaoh's face arrived before the Great Temple, a crane operator raised it carefully from its cushion of sand. . . . Slowly the 21-ton face and its curious concrete appendage rose above the spectators, hovered a moment over the two southernmost, partially rebuilt colossi, and finally came to rest on the figure immediately north of the temple entrance."



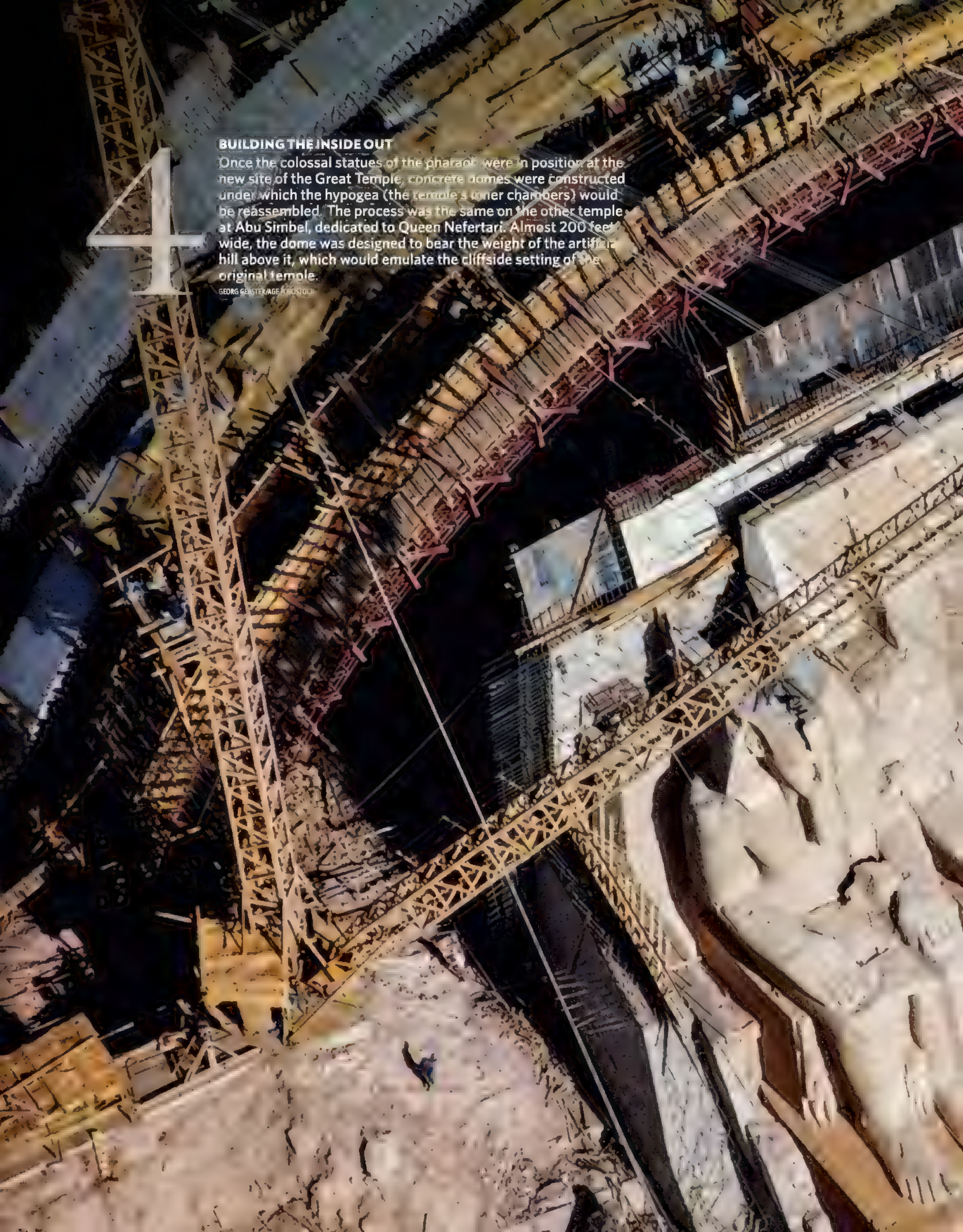
◀ **Blueprints show the numbering system for the cut stone blocks, enabling them to be reassembled later.**

Once the blocks are in place, laborers remove protective material that shielded the edges of the faces of the statues of Ramses II from possible damage while the blocks were being cut. ▼



ALL PHOTOS: GEORG GERSTER/NGS

▲ The visage of Ramses II is lowered toward the body of the statue. A concrete counterweight was attached to its back to stop any rotation during reassembly.



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BUILDING THE INSIDE OUT

Once the colossal statues of the pharaohs were in position at the new site of the Great Temple, concrete domes were constructed under which the hypogea (the temple's inner chambers) would be reassembled. The process was the same on the other temple at Abu Simbel, dedicated to Queen Nefertari. Almost 200 feet wide, the dome was designed to bear the weight of the artificial hill above it, which would emulate the cliffside setting of the original temple.

GEORG GERSTER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

GRAND ILLUMINATION
Twice a year, sunlight shines into the sanctuary of the Great Temple. The rays of light illuminate the faces of Ramses II and the gods Ra-Horakhty and Amon-Ra. The fourth god, Ptah, remains in darkness.
ARALDO DE LUCA

HERE COMES THE SUN KING

THREE THOUSAND YEARS AGO, Ramses's engineers oriented his Great Temple of Abu Simbel so that in the morning twice a year (in February and October) the rays of the sun shone directly into the temple, illuminating its sanctuary. There, sunbeams passed over the statues of the gods Amon-Ra and Ra-Horakhty, as well as that of the deified Ramses II. Only one statue, of the god Ptah, who is associated with the underworld, remained in shadow. Amid all the complex logistical arrangements that ensured the safe dismantling and reassembly of the temple, as well as the artificial mound in which it is set, the engineers had to ensure that they reproduced the correct alignment. Every year, on cue, the sun continues to pay homage to Ramses II.

Facade. The famous four colossal statues of Ramses II front the temple, whose facade measures 100 feet high and 115 feet long.

Colossi. These statues represent Ramses II and are carved out of rock. They are approximately 72 feet tall.

Minor figures. Those to the sides of the colossi represent relatives of the pharaoh; those at his feet are prisoners of war.

Supporting dome. This concrete structure houses the temple in its new location.

Small sanctuary. This area contains images of Ramses II making offerings to various gods.

Sanctuary. The seated statues of Ramses, Amon-Ra, Ra-Horakhty, and Ptah await the twice-yearly visit of the sun's rays.

Hypostyle Hall. Inside this chamber are eight Osiride statues, each around 33 feet tall, representing the pharaoh holding royal symbols.

Secondary side chambers. Bearing few decorative features, these were possibly used as storerooms.

SOL 90/ALBUM

WORDS AND MUSIC
This fifth-century B.C. *kylix* (drinking vessel) depicts scenes from educational life. A second-century A.D. wax tablet (lower right) is inscribed with figures of the kind used by schoolchildren during the classical period.

J. LAURENTIUS/BPK/RMN-GRAN PALAIS. TABLET: BRITISH LIBRARY/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

PAIDEIA

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT GREECE

Many modern ideas about education have their foundation in ancient Greece, where rhetoric and wrestling were of equal importance to future citizens.

RAQUEL LÓPEZ

Childhood education in ancient Greece was highly dependent on one's gender. Preparing for life in the public sphere, wealthy boys during the classical period went to schools where they faced both physical and mental challenges. Relegated to the private sphere, girls' educations were typically haphazard, often occurring at home, if they occurred at all.

In the fifth century B.C., Greece's greatest minds were preoccupied with the most effective ways to raise children. Isocrates, a Greek rhetorician and contemporary of Plato, boldly proclaimed what he saw as Greece's leadership in education: "So far has Athens left the rest of mankind behind in thought and expression that her pupils have become the teachers of the world."

The teaching that Isocrates praised was known by Greeks as *paideia*, a term derived from *paid*, the Greek word for child. In ideal terms, paideia was intended to allow male children to purge the baser parts of human nature so they could achieve the highest moral state. On a pragmatic level, it also provided society with well-prepared men to take on the political and military burdens of citizenship as adults.

ARTICULATED DOLL MADE OF TERRA COTTA. FIFTH CENTURY B.C. BENAKI MUSEUM, ATHENS
BRIDGEMAN/AC

Paideia, however, was not intended for female children. Generally, only wealthy families could afford the full range of educational opportunities, and in nearly all cases, those children were boys. Most daughters, even well-off ones, received an informal education at home. In classical Greece, women were not educated for service in public life, as only men could be citizens. Although evidence has come down of some important exceptions, in general the role in life allotted to girls was in the home.

From Heroes to Thinkers

The notion of paideia did not suddenly emerge in the time of Isocrates, but developed slowly over time. Child-rearing customs that developed in Greece's Archaic period, from the eighth century B.C. onward, were restricted to a tiny elite of young male aristocrats. They centered on rules and moral dictums—the respect that one owed to parents, the gods, and strangers, for example.

As the literature of Homer spread through the Greek world, the heroes of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* were held up as examples to inspire young men. A prized quality in the Homeric hero was *arete*, a blend of military skill and moral integrity.

With the Homeric foundation, scholars began to develop more complex ideas around education. In the fifth century B.C., around the time of Socrates, a new kind of professional teacher, the Sophist, became popular in Athens. Teaching their students rhetoric and philosophy, Sophists infused the traditional values of *arete* with a new spirit of intellectual inquiry. It is during this period that the word paideia is first found. The movement advocated higher education for young Athenian men starting around the age of 16.

There were notable exceptions to this new emphasis on the life of the mind. In neighboring Sparta, harsh child-rearing customs placed an almost exclusive emphasis on physical prowess to prepare for a soldier's life. Even so, the development of paideia was not restricted to Athens, and formed part of a pan-Greek culture.

A CLASSICAL EDUCATION

8th century B.C.
The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are composed. These epics will form the basis of classical Greek education.

7th-6th century B.C.
Based on works of Homer and Hesiod, education extols moral and physical courage, known as *arete*.

5th century B.C.
The term *paideia* is first used. The Sophists widen its intellectual scope. Higher education becomes available.

Circa 387 B.C.
Plato founds his Academy in an olive grove in Athens for the advanced study of philosophy.

Circa 380 B.C.
Plato writes his *Republic*. At its heart is a complex vision of educational models, which is still debated today.

Circa 335 B.C
Aristotle founds his philosophical school at the Lyceum in Athens, dedicated to theoretical and scientific inquiry.

CITY OF LEARNING
The Acropolis of Athens is dominated by the Parthenon. At its foot stands the second-century Odeon theater of Herodes Atticus, an aristocrat and philosopher.

SANDRA RACCANELLO/FOTOTECA 9X12

HOMER RECITES HIS EPIC POEMS IN A 19TH-CENTURY OIL PAINTING BY PAUL JOURDY. ÉCOLE NATIONALE SUPÉRIEURE DES BEAUX-ARTS, PARIS

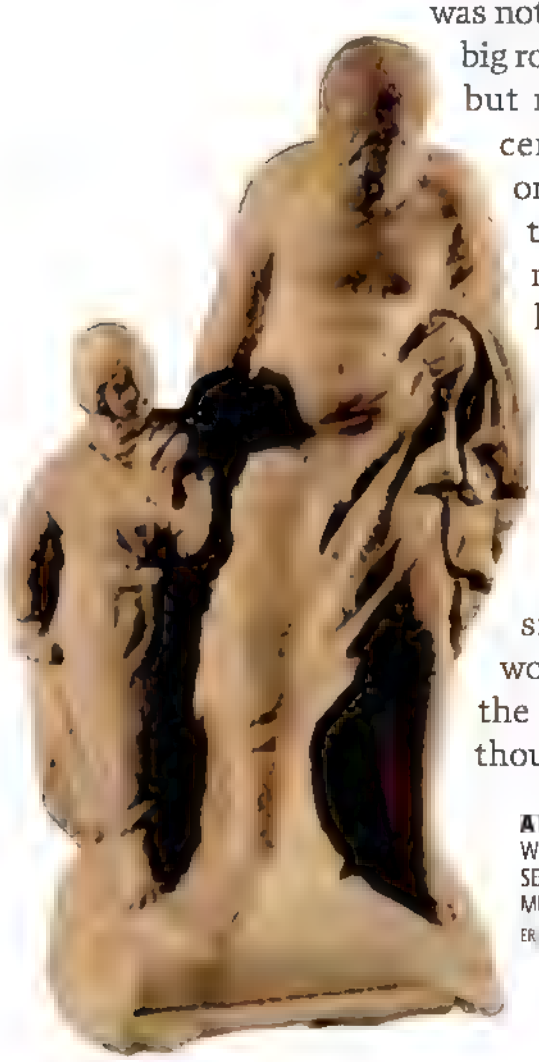
BEAUX-ARTS DE PARIS/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

From Cradle to School

Children of wealthy Athenians in the later fifth century B.C. would typically spend their early years at home. Daughters and sons were raised under the care of female relatives, slaves, and perhaps grandparents. Segregation would come later.

The head of the family was the father, who was not expected to play a big role in domestic life, but rather to be concerned with public or military affairs. If the father brought male friends to his home, they would assemble in the *andron*, the part of the house set aside for male get-togethers.

At the age of six or seven, boys would leave home for the schoolroom. Even though education was almost exclusively focused on the forming of citizens, Athenian schooling was not funded or organized by the public. Families were responsible for their sons' educations.



A PAIDAGOGOS WALKS WITH A GREEK STUDENT, SECOND CENTURY B.C. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

One of the two figures of authority in a young schoolchild's life was the *paidagogos,* an older man, often a trusted family slave, who would accompany the boy to school. He was responsible for ensuring the boy's well-being and teaching him good manners: Walking properly along the street with lowered eyes, wearing his cloak correctly, sitting properly, remaining silent, and not being greedy. To enforce such manners, he could employ corporal punishment.

The second figure was the schoolmaster himself, of which there were three types: *grammatistes,* who taught grammar; *kitharistes,* who taught music; and *paidotribes,* who taught physical education.

In reality, these subject areas are wider in scope than their English translations suggest. "Grammar" consisted of arithmetic, literature, and ethics. "Music" centered on the playing of instruments such as the lyre and pipes. Reflecting the wider sense of the word "music," related to the Muses, it was also a vehicle for imparting broader knowledge about history and ethics. Physical games included gymnastics and field sports. Wrestling contests were held in the building known as the Palaestra.

CLASSICAL PRESCHOOL

BECOMING HUMAN

If Greek education centered on refining the baser elements of human nature, babyhood was a process of becoming human in the first place: "They are born in a more imperfected condition than any other animal," Aristotle wrote of newborns, noting that babies cannot even nurse with their heads unsupported. As well as weakness, Greek infants were associated with an animal wildness that needed to be tamed: Aristotle likened a crawling baby to a four-footed animal. Infanticide was not uncommon in Athens. Babies (especially girls) were left to die if they were seen as an unwanted financial burden.

"To rear children is a hazardous undertaking and success is won through struggle," wrote the fifth-century B.C. thinker Democritus. Other sources take a more joyful view. In Euripides' play *Ion*, for example, children are lauded for lighting up the "old dark house" of life.

BEREAVED
A fourth-century B.C. Greek funerary stele depicting a mother (seated) and another woman, perhaps a slave, holding a baby.

WERNER FORMAN/GTRES

MOVING AND THINKING

Physical education was useful for the state, as it prepared a boy for the military. The Greek ideal of a balance between intellect and physical prowess underpins many educational systems to this day. Scenes of physical, as well as mental, gymnastics were common themes on Greek pottery from the time.

SPORT

In this fifth-century B.C. *kylix* (drinking vessel), young men engage in sporting activities and are observed by their trainers. Three hold javelins, while a fourth prepares to throw a discus. The Louvre, Paris.

S. MARÉCHALLE/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

STUDY

This fragment of a fifth-century B.C. *krater* (wine-mixing bowl) shows a lesson in progress. A group of young men stand reciting before their seated teachers, who listen to their oration. The Louvre, Paris.

T. QUERREC/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

PRACTICE

This sixth-century B.C. *kylix* details some of the physical exercises and athletic activities practiced by students. The central scene shows two young men wrestling, while others are throwing discuses or running. The Louvre, Paris.

RMN-GRAND PALAIS

A GROUP OF YOUNG SPARTAN WOMEN ENGAGE IN SPORT ALONGSIDE THEIR MALE PEERS, IN A SCENE IMAGINED BY THE 19TH-CENTURY PAINTER EDGAR DEGAS. THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Basic education for boys ended between the ages of 14 and 16. By 480 B.C., Athenians had the option of enrolling their sons in secondary schooling. For older students rhetoric was a central area of study, especially for those eyeing a career in public life. Those who could afford it also took private lessons from the Sophists, who were far more expensive than conventional teachers.

SAPPHO. THE FAMOUS GREEK POET IS PORTRAYED IN THIS MARBLE SCULPTURE (1857-1861) BY GIOVANNI DUPRÉ. GALLERIA NAZIONALE D'ARTE MODERNA, ROME

ALESSANDRO VASSARI/ALBUM

Intense relationships between an adult male teacher and an adolescent pupil could often develop. At times such relationships could turn sexual. Although such interactions were socially accepted, the practice was officially frowned on in Athenian democracy.

Most wealthy Athenians' education terminated with an obligatory period of military service, which began when a young man entered the *ephebos* social class at age 18. In the fourth century B.C., the intellectual elite might hope to go on to study at one of the new centers of philosophy: the Academy, established by Plato circa 387 B.C., and the school established at the Lyceum by Aristotle around 335 B.C.

Female Education

In stark contrast to the traditional, family-centered childhood of Athens was Sparta's rigid schooling system. Known as *agoge*, it was centrally organized by the state. From the age of seven, boys were given a military education more focused on survival. They were beaten, taught to steal, and learned to withstand cold and hunger.

Whereas Athenian education imposed a strict segregation of the sexes, Spartan boys and girls trained and competed in athletics alongside one another. The first-century Greco-Roman writer Plutarch described how Spartan girls were required to "exercise themselves with wrestling,

CULTIVATING THE MIND
This scene on an Attic cup from the mid-fifth century B.C. shows the poet Linos reading a papyrus while his young pupil Mousaios stands in front of him holding a wax writing tablet. Louvre Museum, Paris

HERVÉ LEWANDOWSKI/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

AN EPIC TASK

HOMER, TEACHER OF THE GREEKS

Greek schoolchildren were required to memorize sections of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. These epic poems, attributed to Homer, were about 300 years old by the fifth century B.C. and well established as literary classics of the day, much like Shakespeare's plays would be today. The keystone of Greek education, Homeric epics imparted not only literacy, but also virtues of bravery, loyalty, piety, perseverance, and humanism. The thinker Isocrates believed Homer's works stimulated patriotism among the youth during Athens's war against Persia. In his *Republic*, Plato described how Greeks regarded Homer as "the teacher of Greece . . . [who] on questions of human conduct and culture deserves to be constantly studied as a guide by whom to regulate your whole life."

A PAIDAGOGOS HOLDS A BAG OF JACKS, SMALL BONES USED FOR PLAYING WITH. TERRACOTTA FIGURINE. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

H. LEWANDOWSKI/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

TWO YOUNG GIRLS ARE TAUGHT TO DANCE BY AN INSTRUCTRESS ON THE RIGHT. SIXTH-CENTURY B.C. *HYDRIA* (WATER VESSEL). BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

BRITISH MUSEUM/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

running, throwing the quoit, and casting the dart, to the end that the fruit they conceived might, in strong and healthy bodies, take firmer root and find better growth."

Although it is broadly accepted that girls in Athens and other parts of the Greek world were denied access to the teachings offered to boys, it does not mean they received no education at all. Historians believe girls were taught literature and math, as well as dancing and gymnastics. Even so, a lack of documentation on women's lives in classical Greece makes it hard to assess what kind of educational experience many had. Some artworks depict female students: a fifth-century B.C. *kylix* depicts one carrying a tablet and stylus. Another shows a girl reading from a papyrus.

A WOMAN WASHING HER HAIR IN A DETAIL FROM A FOURTH-CENTURY B.C. KRATER

DEA/A. BUM

Some women found ways to excel. The great lyric poet Sappho, active on the island of Lesbos in the seventh to sixth centuries B.C., composed about 10,000 lines, 600 of which have survived. The young women who surrounded her have sometimes been understood as her pupils, as if she were a formal teacher. It is more likely, however, that the group was a literary coterie rather than a formal school.

Going Global

Many of the principles of paideia have been handed down through time and incorporated into learning institutions, a process that was largely enabled by the spread of Christianity. The fifth-century Christian thinker St. Augustine argued for the continued study of classical texts and the importance of rhetoric in education.

Augustine believed eloquence and argument could help win souls for the church. His inclusive approach shaped medieval and Renaissance learning, which in turn has hugely influenced modern ideas about education. Despite the gulf of time and values that separate the world of classical Athens from schools in the 21st century, these debates still influence the way people think about education in the United States, Europe, and many other parts of the world today.

AUTHOR AND HISTORIAN **RAQUEL LÓPEZ** HAS WRITTEN EXTENSIVELY ON CLASSICAL GREECE AND TEACHES ANCIENT HISTORY AT THE UNED UNIVERSITY MADRID, SPAIN.

DEPRIVED OF A VOICE

Despite the informal nature of education for girls, there are references in classical sources to women philosophers. One of the most famous is mentioned in Plato's *Symposium:* Diotima, who was lauded by Socrates. She teaches them the philosophical underpinnings of love, in which the wise seek to exchange physical love for more spiritual forms of desire, culminating in the divine. This concept of love greatly influenced medieval and Renaissance thought.

Diotima's words, however, are known only through the reports of male philosophers. Another female philosopher was Axiothea, who, according to the third-century A.D. author Diogenes Laërtius, was so inspired by Plato's *Republic* that she went to study under him at the Academy, where she had to dress as a man. However, as with other female philosophers in the classical period, no firsthand view of her philosophical ideas has survived.

THE READER
Although only a tiny elite became philosophers, some Greek women were literate. The fifth-century vase (left) shows a woman reading a papyrus that she has taken from a chest.

H. LEWANDOWSKI/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

FEMALE PURSUITS

Despite a lack of access to formal education, some women pursued many of the same intellectual and physical activities as men. In Athens (unlike in neighboring Sparta), educational and sporting activities were carried out in a strictly segregated environment.

AT PLAY
This fifth-century B.C. *hydria* (water vessel) features nude women washing in a basin, possibly after engaging in some type of physical exercise. They hold strigils, instruments used by athletes to clean their skin. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

ACI

AT SCHOOL

A woman on this fifth-century B.C. *kylix* leads a seemingly reluctant female student by the hand. The latter is carrying a pair of writing tablets and a stylus. It is believed that well-to-do girls studied in a domestic environment. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

MMA/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

AT WORK

A woman is shown working wool on this fifth-century B.C. oil flask. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

BRIDGEMAN

TRIUMPHS OF CAESAR

Rome celebrated Julius Caesar with an unprecedented four triumphs, the highest honor a victorious general could receive. These spectacles were magnificent, but not all Romans were cheering.

ANDREA FREDIANI

RIDING HIGH
Receiving his laurel crown, Julius Caesar passes through Rome in his triumphal chariot in this 15th-century painting by Andrea Mantegna, displayed in Hampton Court Palace, London. Left: A gold aureus from the first century B.C. depicts weapons Caesar plundered from the Gauls. Capitoline Museums, Rome

PAINTING: © HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II, 2018/BRIDGEMAN/ACI
AUREUS: DEA/ALBUM

ROME AT THEIR FEET

On the way to Capitoline Hill, triumphs proceeded along the Via Sacra (above), the main street in ancient Rome.

SONGQUAN DENG/GETTY IMAGES

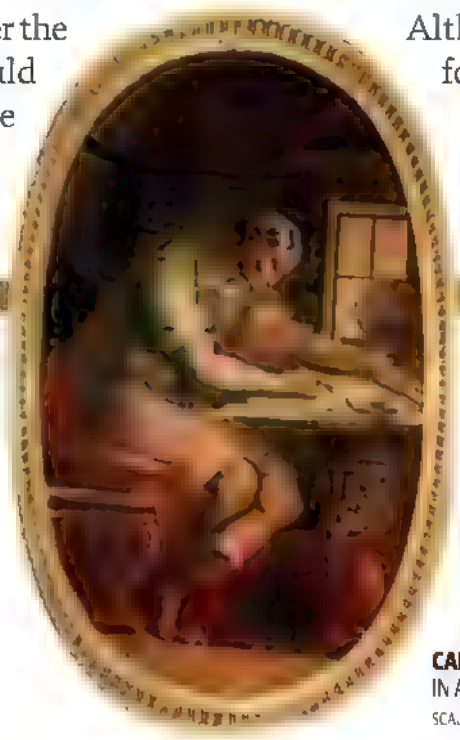
The morning of September 21, 46 B.C., was a day of celebration for the citizens of Rome. A general was about to claim the highest honor a Roman could receive: a triumph, a spectacular celebration in which Roman generals paraded through the streets flaunting prisoners of war and spoils of victory. This day promised to be like none other before it: Today was the first of four triumphs, all held to honor the same man, Julius Caesar. Over the next two weeks, Rome could look forward to three more giant parades.

Caesar's triumphs were exceptional not only for their immense expense and grand scale, but also for the fact that he was the only person in Rome's history to receive four, one for each of his victorious campaigns. By celebrating Caesar, Rome was also celebrating itself, because this general had enlarged and enriched the republic like no other man before him. The one who came closest was Caesar's ally turned rival, Pompey the Great. He had received three triumphs. Although past triumphs were not the focus of Caesar's plans, they had set a high bar, which Caesar was set to overcome with great flair.

CAESAR'S FIRST FOUR

52 B.C.

After victory in Alesia and the surrender of the Gallic leader Vercingetorix, Caesar completes the conquest of Gaul and establishes Roman rule. Vercingetorix is sent to Rome as a captive.

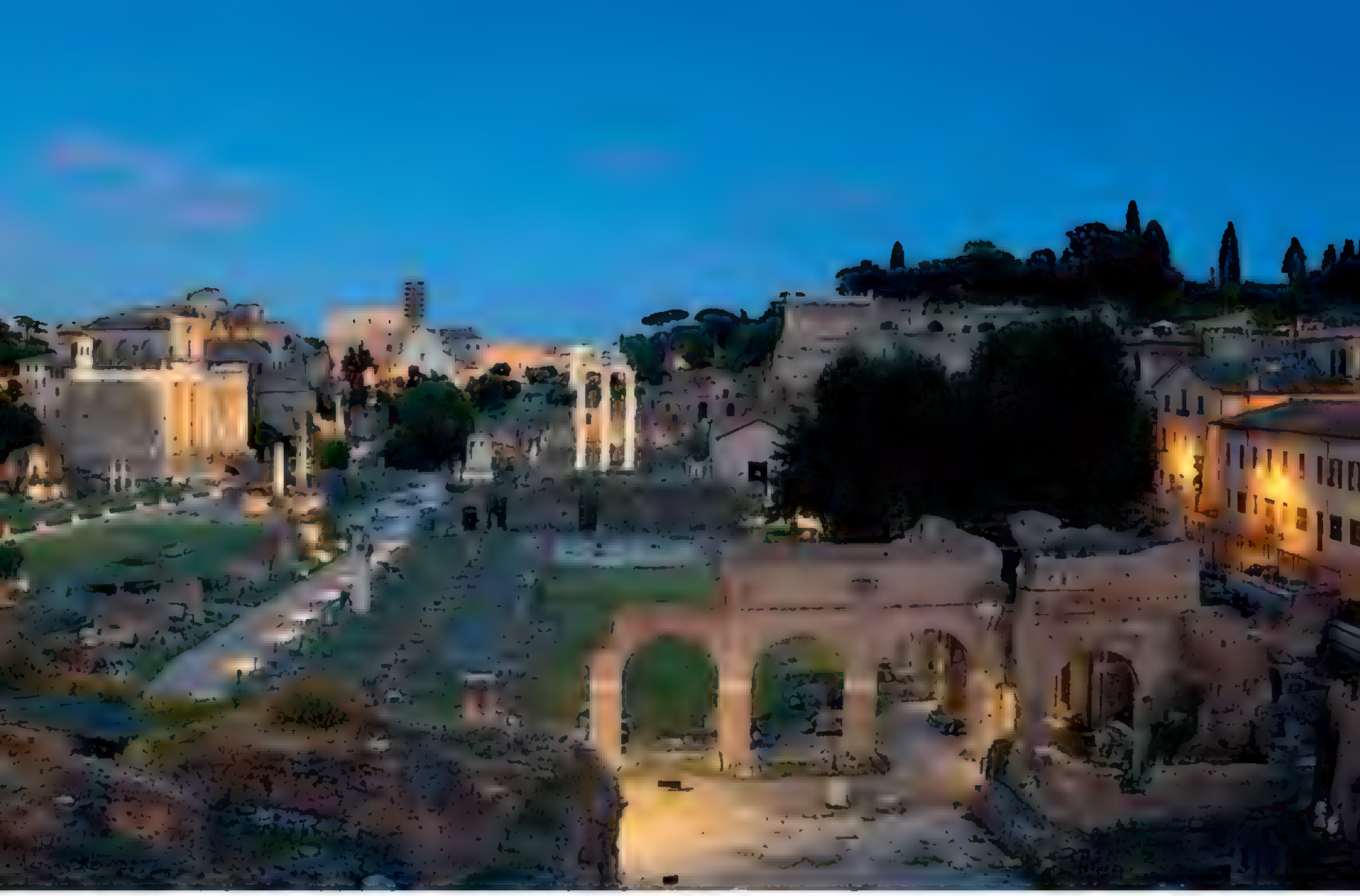


CAESAR, WRITING HIS ACCOUNT OF HIS MILITARY CAMPAIGNS IN A 16TH-CENTURY PAINTING BY GIORGIO VASARI

SCALA, FLORENCE

48-47 B.C.

After his arrival in Egypt, Caesar allies himself with Cleopatra against her siblings. Together they defeat the army of her sister Arsinoë and her brother Ptolemy, and Cleopatra becomes ruler of Egypt.



Sacred Rituals

In the Roman Republic, generals requested triumphs, but it was the Senate that granted them—only if a victory met a series of conditions. The win had to be a major battle (with a minimum of 5,000 enemy casualties) that ended a war. While the Senate deliberated, the general would wait outside the city gates. If he failed to qualify for a full-blown triumph, he could be granted an *ovatio* (ovation), a slightly lesser celebration.

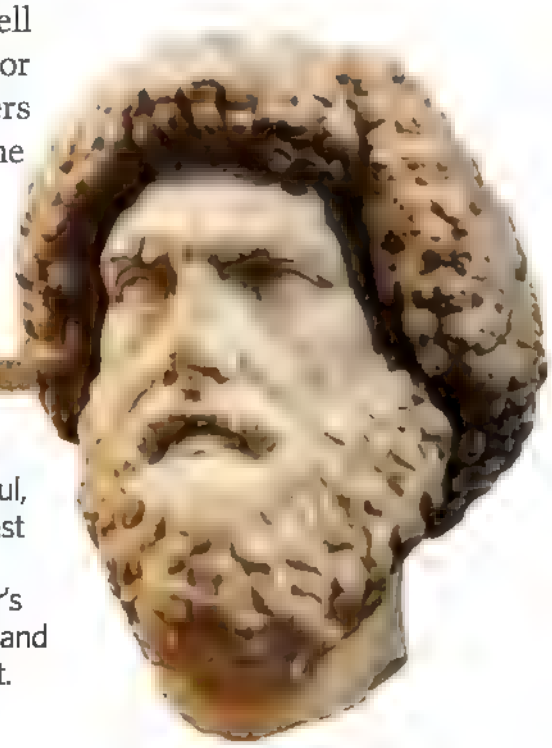
When triumphs were granted, a grand procession was held throughout the streets of Rome. Details varied over the centuries, but typically the festivities would last for an entire day. The parade followed a sacred route through the city, starting at the gate, Porta Triumphalis, proceeding to the Campus Martius (Field of Mars) and then along the Via Sacra (Sacred Way) to the temple of Jupiter on Capitoline Hill.

Politicians would proceed first, often followed by musicians and entertainers. Prisoners of war were paraded before Rome, as well as the plunder gained through the victory. For the grand finale, the general and his soldiers (the only time when the army could enter the sacred boundaries of the city) would march as crowds cheered them on.

AFRICAN ENEMY

A first-century B.C. bust (below) depicts Numidian king Juba I, defeated by Caesar in 46 B.C. Louvre Museum, Paris

DEA/A. BUM



47 B.C.

King Pharnaces II of Pontus, ruler of the Bosporan kingdom, invades Roman territory. Caesar takes a legion and swiftly defeats him in the Battle of Zela. Pharnaces escapes, but is killed by one of his officers.

April 46 B.C.

The battle of Thapsus takes place between Caesar's troops and the remnants of Pompey's army, supported by King Juba I of Numidia. Caesar is victorious, and Juba dies in a suicide pact.

Sept.–Oct., 46 B.C.

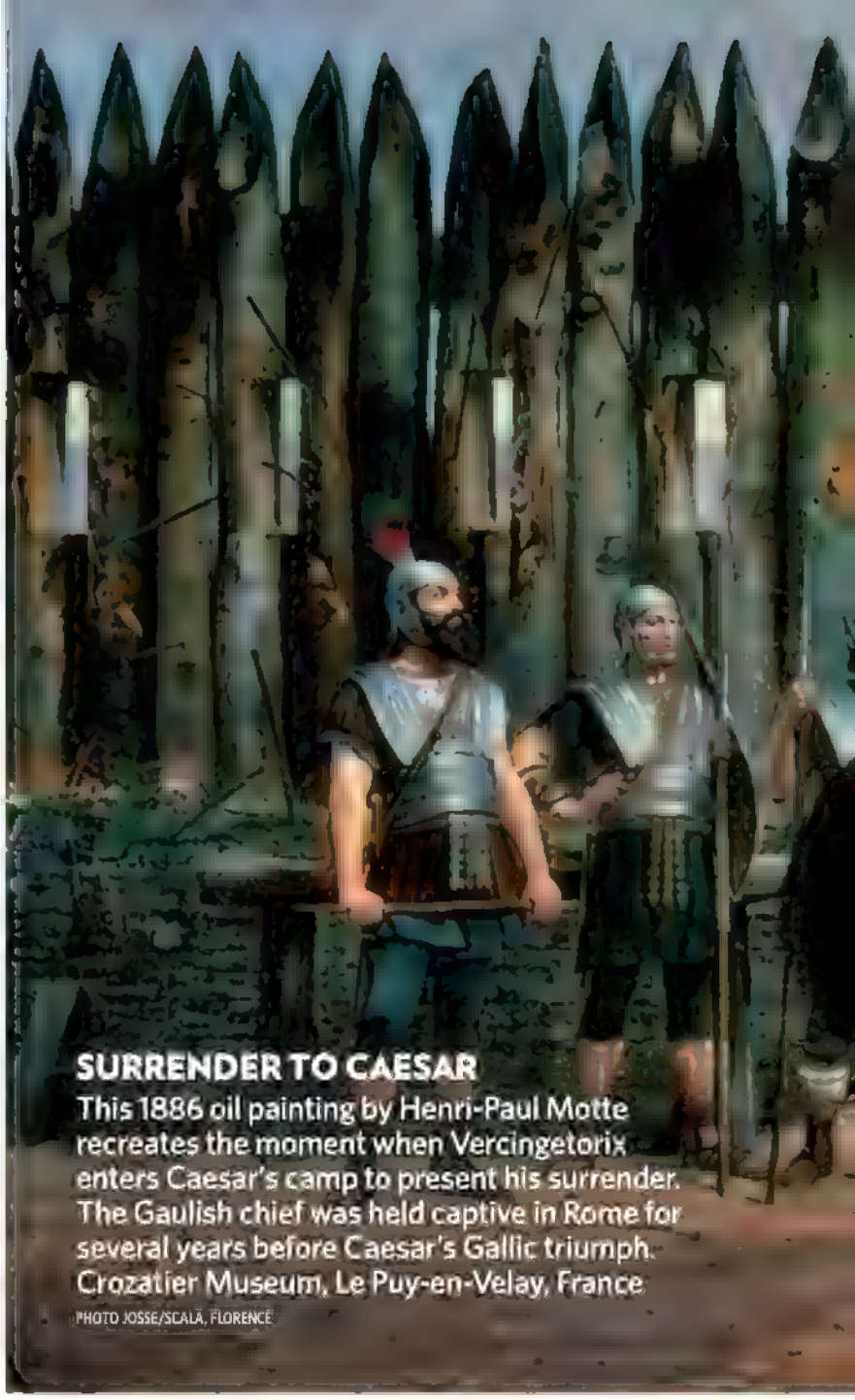
Caesar celebrates four triumphs in Rome, marking victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. This last triumph raises hackles in Rome, as the victory was part of Caesar's general struggle against his rival and fellow Roman, Pompey the Great.

A SILVER SKYPHOS DEPICTS TIBERIUS DURING HIS TRIUMPH OF 8 B.C. HIS IVORY SCEPTER AND LAUREL BRANCH, AS WELL AS BEING BORNE IN A QUADRIGA, ARE PRIVILEGES RESERVED FOR TRIUMPHS. THOSE GRANTED AN OVATION HAD TO WALK.

HERVÉ LEWANDOWSKI/RMN

WALKING OVATIONS

NOT ALL VICTORIES resulted in triumphs. If a general won a battle but fell short of the minimum requirements, he could be honored with an ovation, a celebration on a smaller scale. Ovations were still grand parades, but they were missing some of the more elaborate effects of a triumph. Rather than ride in a chariot, the victor would march. Instead of the toga *picta* that was solid purple and decorated with gold stars, he would wear the toga *praetexta*, which was white with a broad purple border. On his head he would wear a wreath of myrtle rather than laurel, and instead of sacrificing oxen he'd have to make do with sheep. Marcus Licinius Crassus, who completed the triumvirate with Caesar and Pompey, received an ovation in 71 B.C. after defeating Spartacus's rebel army. (Spartacus's forces, despite being made up of slaves, had already managed to inflict numerous defeats on the Roman legions.) Crassus, though, was anything but content at being denied a triumph. The reckless pursuit of his laurels led him to an unprovoked attack against the Parthian Empire in 53 B.C. that would cost him his life.



SURRENDER TO CAESAR
This 1886 oil painting by Henri-Paul Motte recreates the moment when Vercingetorix enters Caesar's camp to present his surrender. The Gaulish chief was held captive in Rome for several years before Caesar's Gallic triumph. Crozatier Museum, Le Puy-en-Velay, France

PHOTO JOSSE/SCALA, FLORENCE

The sense of honor was overwhelming: In a city that viewed monarchs with distrust, the general would be allowed to be "king for a day." Dressed in royal purple, he would ride in a quadriga, a carriage drawn by four horses. In his hands, he would hold an ivory scepter and a laurel branch. On his head was both a laurel wreath and a golden crown held by a slave, who was also given the task of whispering into the general's ear reminders of his mortality.

Ending at 19 B.C., the *Fasti Triumphales* is an incomplete record of those who had been awarded triumphs. Stretching back to Rome's founders, it shows that Romans believed this accolade to be as old as the city itself. The first triumph in the list is attributed to Romulus, one of the city's legendary founders. Like many of Rome's traditions, this connection with its mythical past helped consolidate and sanctify its institutions. The origins of the procession were probably rooted in a religious festival meant to bring about plentiful harvests. As the city grew in size, the triumphs grew in splendor.

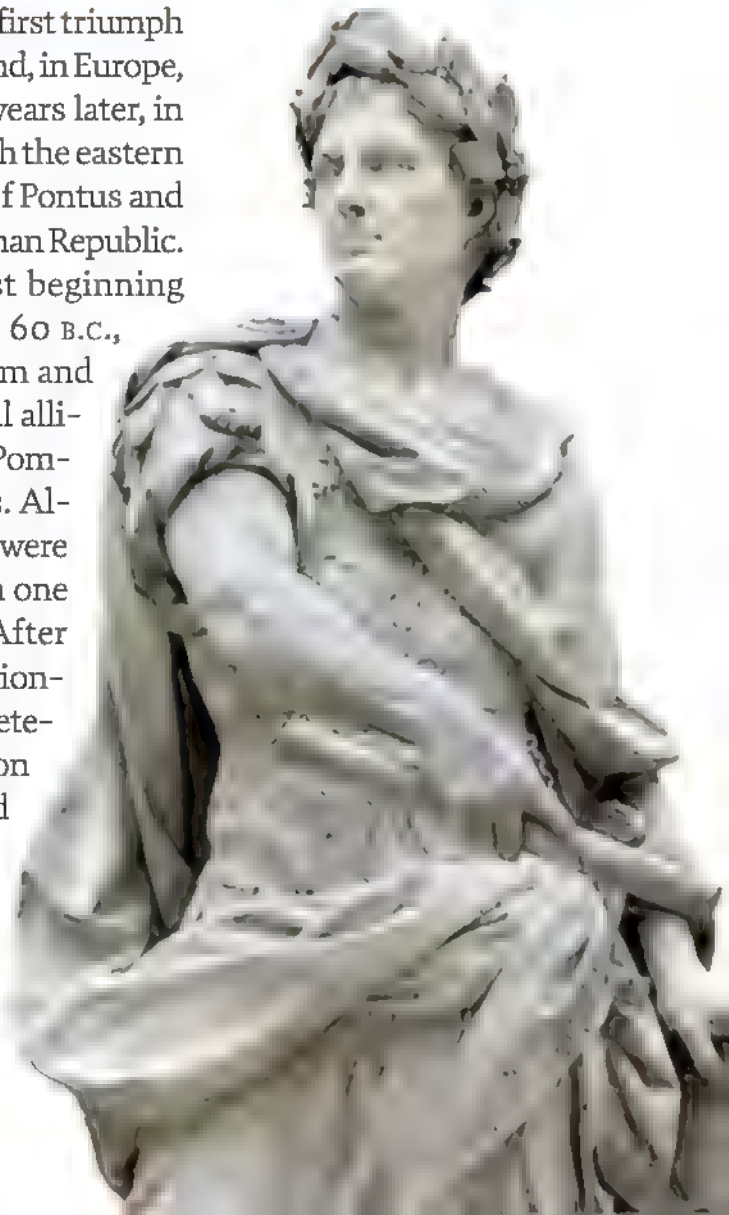
Raising the Bar

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, better known as Pompey the Great, had taken the triumph tradition to new heights, exceeding anything the Romans had experienced before. First-century A.D. historian Plutarch described how the last of his three triumphs, which Pompey celebrated on his 45th birthday in 61 B.C., lasted for two days. Pompey paraded 300 high-ranking hostages through the city, and displayed placards boasting that he had killed or captured 12,183,000 enemies, put out of action 846 warships, and given 1,500 denarii to each of his soldiers, an amount they would normally take a decade to earn.

Writing in the second century A.D., Greek historian Appian detailed Pompey's expensive tastes, including entering the city on a diamond-studded chariot and wearing a cloak that allegedly belonged to Alexander the Great. Golden-horned bulls were sacrificed, and the people of Rome were gifted parties, banquets, and games.

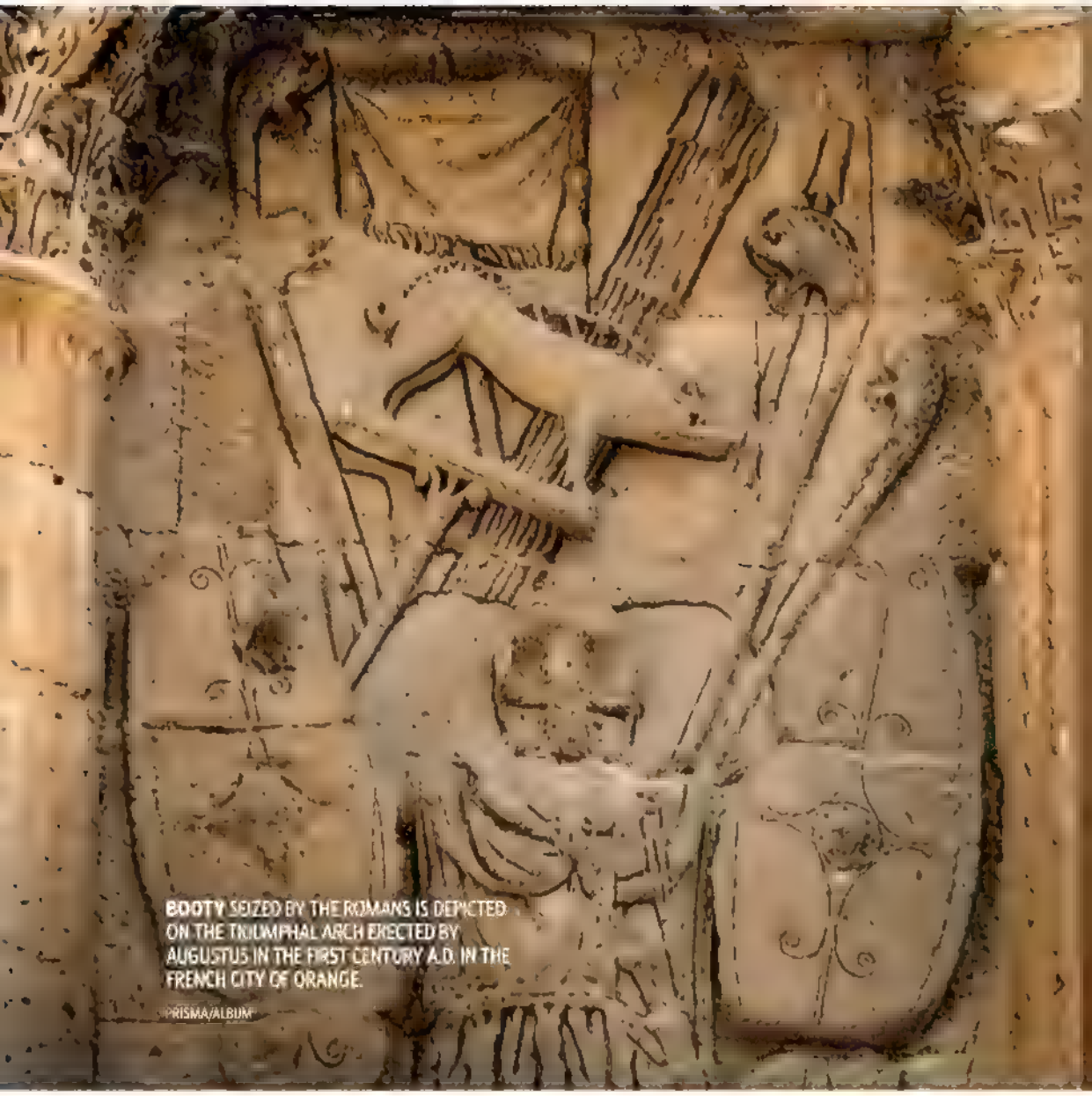
The number of triumphs was certainly unusual, but Pompey's victories had unusual qualities. Each of his victories took place on a different continent: He earned his first triumph in Africa (Libya), in 81 B.C.; his second, in Europe, in 71 B.C.; and the third, about 10 years later, in Asia Minor, where he defeated both the eastern pirates and Mithradates VI, king of Pontus and a long-standing menace to the Roman Republic.

Julius Caesar's career was just beginning when Pompey's was peaking. In 60 B.C., Caesar had earned enough acclaim and power to form a powerful political alliance, the First Triumvirate, with Pompey and Marcus Licinius Crassus. Although these men were allies, they were also wary of one another, for each one had great power and influence. After Crassus's death in 53 B.C., the relationship between Pompey and Caesar deteriorated into enmity. Confrontation eventually became unavoidable, and they finally faced each other in a four-year civil war.



JULIUS CAESAR. MARBLE STATUE BY NICOLAS COUSTOU, 18TH CENTURY. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE



BOOTY SEIZED BY THE ROMANS IS DEPICTED ON THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH ERECTED BY AUGUSTUS IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D. IN THE FRENCH CITY OF ORANGE.

PRISMA/ALBUM

TO THE VICTORS

THE UTMOST military glory was the *spolia opima*, the weapons and personal effects stripped from the body of an enemy chieftain killed in one-on-one combat. Roman history records only three instances of this happening. Tradition holds that Romulus, Rome's co-founder, challenged and killed Acron, the king of the Ceninenses, in single combat. He is said to have hung Acron's weapons in an oak tree, which he carried on his back all the way to the top of Capitoline Hill. Then in the fifth century B.C., general Aulus Cornelius Cossus defeated Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, at the Battle of the Amio and claimed the *spolia opima*. Evidence for the first two incidents is hazy, but historians do believe that in 222 B.C., Marcus Claudius Marcellus killed the Gallic king Viridomarus at the battle of Clastidium and claimed the spoils of war.

Caesar was victorious, defeating Pompey's forces at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C. Pompey the Great fled to Egypt, where the pharaoh Ptolemy (Cleopatra's brother) had him murdered, an act which disturbed Caesar, who, despite being an adversary of the general, still saw him as a Roman. The legacy of his former ally turned enemy would trouble Caesar as he turned to his future in Rome.

Tallying Up Triumphs

Once back in Rome, Caesar's thoughts turned to triumphs. Before civil war broke out, Caesar had already chalked up some astounding military victories. Between 58 and 50 B.C., his forces waged a series of campaigns in Gaul, conquering new territory for Rome and defeating several Gallic tribes. The climax of the Gallic Wars came in 52 B.C. when the Romans won the Battle of Alesia, defeating a confederation of tribes led by Gallic chief Vercingetorix. This victory was certainly worthy of a triumph.

Caesar's second great victory occurred in Egypt, shortly after Pompey's death.

ONE FOR POSTERITY

The words *Veni, vidi, vici*—"I came, I saw, I conquered"—are stamped on this sesterce from 47 B.C. The words were allegedly said by Caesar after his lightning victory over Pharnaces II in Zela (Turkey) in 47 B.C. Sammlung Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte, Berlin

AKG/ALBUM

Caesar traveled to Egypt, where Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy and sister Arsinoë were fighting for power. Caesar backed Cleopatra, and she defeated her siblings in 47 B.C. to become sole Egyptian ruler. Caesar's third victory came later that year. Pharnaces II, king of Pontus, was crushed by Rome at the Battle of Zela in present-day Turkey.

Victories in Gaul, Egypt, and Pontus qualified Caesar for three triumphs, but he did not hesitate to ask the Senate for a fourth. Caesar scored a victory that led to the downfall of the remnants of Pompey's forces, the defeat of King Juba I of Numidia in North Africa. During the Roman civil war, Juba supported the remnants of Pompey's forces with reinforcements during the Battle of Thapsus (in present-day Tunisia) in April 46 B.C.

Juba did die in the conflict, but he wasn't slain by Caesar's forces. Sources say that he and Marcus Petreius, a general allied with Pompey, fled and made a mutual suicide pact to avoid capture.

Not only was Thapsus not a victory that would technically justify a triumph, but

Caesar's inclusion of it inflamed tensions in Rome, which was recovering from civil war and the loss of Pompey, whom many still considered a great hero. Nonetheless, Caesar returned to Rome ready to celebrate before the people.

Quadruple Triumphs

Over the course of a few weeks in 46 B.C., Caesar staged his four triumphs, beginning with the Gallic. Historians say it started with a curious incident. The first-century A.D. Roman historian Suetonius described how Caesar's chariot broke as he paraded through city. The general nearly fell, but continued along the route "between two lines of elephants, forty in all, which acted as his torch bearers."

In the Gallic triumph, Caesar's men followed behind him. Some carried large placards depicting the most important battles and events. It was customary for them to carouse, singing songs meant to stave off the jealousy of the gods by making fun of the general's vices. Suetonius recorded a particularly risque verse that poked fun at Caesar's love affairs:

Home we bring our bald whoremonger;
Romans, lock your wives away!
All the bags of gold you lent him
Went his Gallic tarts to pay.

In the Pontic triumph, Suetonius reported how in addition to the placards showing key battle scenes, a wagon was decorated with three simple words: ***Veni, vidi, vici*** (I came, I saw, I conquered). Rather than referring to a battle or event, Suetonius believe the phrase referred to the speed with which Caesar's forces won.

Romans were happy to celebrate victories against foreign powers, but there were mixed

SALUTING HERCULES

The triumphal procession passed through the Forum Boarium (above), site of the Temple of Hercules Triumphant (left) and the Temple of Portunus (right), before reaching the Capitoline Hill.

PAOLO ROMITI/ALAMY/ACI

During Caesar's triumphs, his soldiers were permitted to chant insults at him, such as: "Home we bring our bald whoremonger."

EGYPT COMES TO ROME

In 46 B.C, Julius Caesar celebrated his Egyptian triumph after he and Queen Cleopatra defeated her siblings for the throne. At the triumph's climax (below), the procession arrived at the Temple of Jupiter on Capitoline Hill, where Caesar showed off the spoils of war.

BASALT STATUETTE OF CLEOPATRA VII HOLDING A CORNUCOPIA, THE HORN OF PLENTY. FIRST CENTURY B.C., HERMITAGE MUSEUM, SAINT PETERSBURG.

MAPPING THE TRIUMPH

Although practices of Roman triumphs changed over time, the roughly 2.5-mile parade route remained largely the same. In Caesar's time the procession began at the Porta Triumphalis in the Servian Wall, and wound through several streets before heading past the Circus Maximus and on toward Palatine Hill and the Forum. To finish, the procession would ascend Capitoline Hill and end at the Temple of Jupiter. It was here that the execution of prisoners and offerings to the gods took place, in front of Rome's cheering crowds.

① WONDROUS LIGHTHOUSE

Along the triumphal parades, re-creations were made of the places conquered. Here, a model of the Lighthouse of Alexandria, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, has been made to symbolize the victory in Egypt.

② GIRAFFES AND ELEPHANTS

Caesar exhibited elephants and giraffes in his Egyptian triumph. Giraffes had never been seen before in Rome and they caused quite a stir.

③ A SISTER SPARED

Arsinöe, Cleopatra's sister, is paraded in chains as a prisoner. Her situation arouses the compassion of the volatile crowd; her life will be spared, and she will be sent into exile.

④ CAESAR AT THE TEMPLE

The commander stands on the steps to the Temple of Jupiter. Honored generals would climb them to offer a laurel wreath to the god in gratitude for the victory.

CLEOPATRA © ALBUM / RE-CREATION: ROLAND SNOOKS-SMITH / IMAGE MAP: RE-CREATIVE

QUIRINAL

VIMINAL

ESQUILINE

PALATINE

CAPITOLINE

Arsenal

Temple of Jupiter

Theater of Marcellus

Roman Forum

Tiber Island

Porta Triumphalis

Circus Máximus

CAELIAN

AVENTINE

Appian Way

2

3

4

THE ROMAN TEMPLE IN CORDOBA, SPAIN, IS NEAR WHERE CAESAR DEFEATED THE REMNANTS OF POMPEY'S SUPPORTERS AT MUNDA IN MARCH 45 B.C. THIS VICTORY WAS CELEBRATED IN HIS FIFTH TRIUMPH.
ALBUM

FIFTH AND FINAL TRIUMPH

After the sons of Pompey and their supporters at the Battle of Munda in 45 B.C., Caesar was granted a fifth triumph in October, but this one was more politically complicated than the others. His previous four triumphs celebrated wins over outsiders in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. According to first-century A.D. historian Plutarch, the fifth triumph "vexed the Romans as nothing else had done. For it commemorated no victory over foreign commanders or barbarian kings, but the utter annihilation of the sons and the family of the mightiest of the Romans." Celebrating the downfall of one of Rome's most celebrated generals and his family felt disrespectful to many. Caesar's inability to see how poorly this triumph reflected on him helped hasten his own downfall. Although he was made dictator for life in early 44 B.C. a few months after the fifth triumph, Caesar did not have long to enjoy it. Senators who opposed him and his ambition organized an assassination plot, and Caesar was murdered five months later that year on March 15.

feelings about the battles involving Pompey and his allies. Caesar was mindful of this, especially during the fourth triumph. According to Appian, Caesar "took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens)." He was astute enough to avoid any mention of Pompey. The former leader remained much loved and Caesar had to watch his step. Even so, Caesar did allow this campaign to be represented in posters.

Parading captured foreign enemies before the populace was enthusiastically welcomed. Traditionally, they would be presented in chains or cages before the crowds and then executed. It had been six years since Vercingetorix's defeat, and the Gallic commander had been in prison ever since. As part of his triumph, Caesar paraded the vanquished leader through the streets of Rome and then had him executed on Capitoline Hill.

Not all of Caesar's defeated enemies met such a fate. During the Egyptian triumph, Cleopatra's

sister Arsinoë was bound in chains. Her demeanor aroused the crowd's sympathy. Sensitive to the feelings of the people, Caesar had her exiled to Ephesus rather than killed.

Bread and Circuses

In addition to the processions, Caesar spared no expense for grand entertainments for the Roman people. Appian described the action:

> *[Caesar] put on various shows. There was horse-racing, and musical contests, and combats—one with a thousand foot soldiers opposing another thousand, another with 200 cavalry on each side, and another that was a mixed infantry and cavalry combat, as well as an elephant fight with twenty beasts a side and a naval battle with 4,000 oarsmen plus a thousand marines on each side to fight.*

Caesar generously rewarded his troops with 20,000 sesterces—far beyond what they would have earned in a lifetime. He also gave a magnanimous sum of 400 sesterces to every citizen, distributed food, and staged gladiatorial combats and athletic events.

The triumphs were long remembered for their pomp and splendor, but some historians believe they stirred up opposition to the conquering hero. To some, the grandstanding was at odds with Rome's republican values of simplicity, discipline, dignity, and virtue. Caesar had spent extravagant sums on self-promotion, causing several Roman senators—such as Cassius, and Brutus—to grow wary of him, wondering what his true motivations might be.

Grumbling about Caesar's ambitions was only fueled by this ostentation. Opposition to his power increased among this faction of senators, who hatched a successful assassination plot in the 18 months following the four triumphs of Caesar.

TALIAN HISTOR.AN AND H STORICA. NOVE.IST ANDREA FREDIANI HAS WR TTEN EXTENS VELY ON ROME'S LATE REPUBL.C AND EARLY EMPIRE.

Learn more

BOOKS

The Twelve Caesars
S.etonius (ed. James Rives), Penguin Classics, 2007

GRAND TRADITIONS

Carle Vernet's 18th-century painting (above) of the triumph of second-century B.C. general Lucius Aemilius Paullus shows him with a laurel crown and an ivory scepter, elements that also appeared in Casear's triumph 200 years later. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

SCA.A, FLORENCE

CAESAR'S GALLIC TRIUMPH

Below are eight of the nine 15th-century panels painted by Andrea Mantegna.

Trumpeters play and figures carry images of the conquered cities to celebrate Caesar.

Prizes, including statues, weaponry, shields, and the model of a conquered city, are paraded through Rome.

Roman youths lead a sacrificial ox and torch-bearing elephants through the parade.

Jewels, gold, silver, and several sets of decorative armor are carried aloft in the triumph.

re-creating Caesar's first triumph of 46 B.C.

Soldiers' armor, weapons, and other trophies are carried through the crowds.

A man carries a large vessel full of treasure. A bull is paraded behind, already decorated for sacrifice.

Comprising men, women, and children, a group of prisoners pass by as other captives watch them from behind bars.

Musicians provide merriment for the occasion, while others carry standards that represent those defeated by Caesar.

BOTTICELLI

RENAISSANCE ICON

Coming of age in 15th-century Italy, the son of a tanner became better known as Sandro Botticelli, the painter whose works of art revered Europe's classical past and celebrated his Florentine patrons, the powerful Medici family.

ALESSANDRA PAGANO

LOVE AND BEAUTY
Perhaps his most famous work, Botticelli's "Birth of Venus" was painted circa 1485, at the height of his powers. The goddess of love stands modestly atop a giant shell, born by the winds as an attendant brings Venus a garment.

Florence was a small Italian city state in the early 1400s. Devastated a century earlier by the Black Death, the city recovered and grew in prominence and prosperity. Powerful merchants and bankers invested their fortunes in painting, sculpture, and architecture, and Florence became the epicenter of a new movement that most eloquently expressed its values—humanism, wisdom, and truth—through the arts. The work of Sandro Botticelli embodied the values of the early Renaissance, marrying organic beauty with geometric precision.

Golden Boy

Christened Alessandro di Mariano di Vanni Filipepi, Sandro Botticelli began life around 1445 as the youngest son of a tanner. He had an older brother, who was allegedly called "barrel" because of his stocky build, and it is thought that this is how the young Sandro got the nickname Botticelli. The name stuck with him for the rest of his life and became synonymous with some of Florence's greatest works of art.

The details of the artist's early life are few. Of Botticelli's childhood, the 16th-century historian Giorgio Vasari wrote: "Although [Botticelli] found it easy to learn whatever he wished, nevertheless he was restless ... [and, so,] weary with the vagaries of his son's brain, in despair his father apprenticed him as a goldsmith." This experience emerges in Botticelli's paintings in the form of meticulous, intricate flourishes.

During Botticelli's youth, Florence was the center of innovation in Italian art. The Florentine sculptor Donatello used his extensive knowledge of classical works to push his art to new heights. The Dominican Basilica of Santa Maria Novella housed the "Holy Trinity" fresco by Masaccio. Completed in 1427, it is believed to be the first work to fully apply the laws of linear perspective.

Many scholars believe that the Vespuccis, wealthy acquaintances of Botticelli's family, secured him an apprenticeship with Fra Filippo Lippi, one of the greatest painters in the region. Lippi had a workshop in the nearby town of Prato, and the teenage Botticelli studied with him and painted his first works under Lippi's tutelage.

circa 1445

The youngest son of a tanner, Sandro Botticelli is born in Florence.

circa 1461

Botticelli begins to study painting with the Florentine artist Fra Filippo Lippi.

1480s

Backed by the Medici, Botticelli produces some of his best-known works.

1494

After the Medici lose power in Florence, Botticelli abandons painting.

1510

Botticelli dies on May 17 and is buried in the church of Ognissanti.

Florentine Financiers

Renaissance artists such as Lippi and Botticelli relied on powerful patrons to fund their work. In 15th-century Florence, the powerful Medici family financed many of the era's greatest artists. The Florentine branch of the family made its fortunes in textiles and banking.

Cosimo de'Medici came to power in 1434 and immediately set about an extensive building program, including finishing Filippo Brunelleschi's gravity-defying cupola on Florence's *duomo* of Santa Maria del Fiore. All this new architecture created a demand for works of art to fill them, which artists were only too happy to supply.

In 1464, during Botticelli's apprenticeship, Cosimo died and was succeeded by his son, Piero di Cosimo de' Medici. Five years later, Piero's sons, Giuliano and Lorenzo (later "Lorenzo the Magnificent") became co-rulers and continued feeding the appetite for great art begun by their grandfather.

Around 1468, Botticelli left Lippi to study with other masters, including Andrea del Verrocchio, Leonardo da Vinci's teacher, whose influence introduced a sculptural, solid quality to Botticelli's figures. During the 1470s, Botticelli set up his own workshop. Although his patrons often selected his subjects—both sacred and secular—Botticelli embodied the Renaissance ideal of the individual artist, free to let his genius define his distinctive style. He proved a masterful painter of altarpieces and of circular, devotional paintings called *tondi,* the best known of which is the "Madonna of the Magnificat."

BOTTICELLI INCORPORATED THIS SELF PORTRAIT INTO HIS "ADORATION OF THE MAGI," 1475-76, UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE

SCALA, FLORENCE

POWER AND ART
The tower of Florence's 14th-century Palazzo Vecchio, once the seat of the Medici government, rises before the Uffizi Gallery, where many of Botticelli's works are on display.

GIOVANNI SIMEONE/FOTOTECA 9X12

HIDDEN FIGURES

Botticelli's 1475-76 "Adoration of the Magi" includes several portaits. One of the magi, Cosimo de' Medici, holds the feet of baby Jesus. Botticelli himself gazes out at the far right, while Lorenzo de' Medici observes from the far left. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

ALBUM

During this time, Botticelli began a close working relationship with the Medici, who commissioned several paintings from him. These include "Portrait of a Young Man with a Medal of Cosimo the Elder," from 1474–1475, and the 1475 "Adoration of the Magi," which contains portraits of members of the Medici family paying tribute to the Holy Family.

Botticelli's career coincided with the flourishing of Neoplatonism, a Renaissance philosophy based on the teachings of Plato. Neoplatonism acknowledged the supremacy of spirit over matter and viewed intellect and love as leading the soul toward God. Cosimo encouraged this philosophy, which was continued by his heirs. They also looked to the classical world to illustrate truths about their own.

Botticelli's most famous works also draw on the classical world for inspiration. Commissioned by the Medici, his great mythological works of the 1480s—including "Primavera," "Birth of Venus," and "Pallas and the Centaur"—reflect Neoplatonist values in their beautiful renderings of classical material. At first glance, these works are entrancing on the surface, but Botticelli's fluid brushwork and intricate details create new levels of meaning, both allegorical and symbolic, to engage the viewer.

Changing Times, Changing Art

Botticelli's religious works also earned him fame. He made a rare trip to Rome in 1481 to work on frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Vasari's account of the Rome visit is an interesting insight into how Botticelli lived generally: "Having rapidly squandered his earnings, he lived in haphazard fashion, as was his custom."

In 1492, the political climate in Florence shifted after the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent. A Dominican friar, Girolamo Savonarola, gained influence in the wake of Lorenzo's death and attracted many spiritual followers who opposed the Medici. According to Vasari, Botticelli fell under Savonarola's sway, which led him to give up painting, his only means of earning a living. Vasari recorded: "Nonetheless, he remained an obstinate member of the sect."

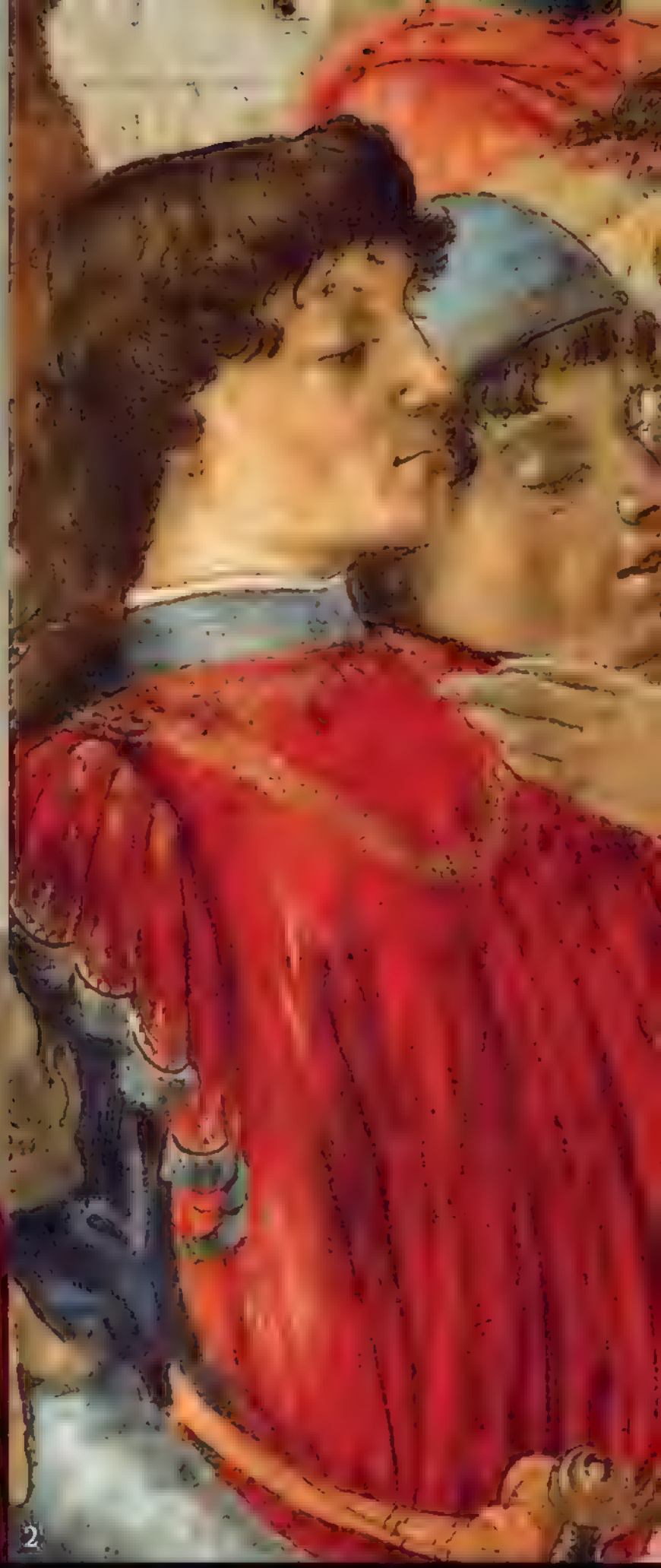
This master of the Italian Renaissance died in 1510, at age 64. Many of his most celebrated works were, by then, hung in the landmarks of his district, buildings he had known since childhood, including the Ognissanti Church, where he was laid to rest in a modest tomb.

HISTORIAN ALESSANDRA PAGANO WRITES ON ARTISTS OF THE RENAISSANCE ERA. SHE IS ALSO A SPECIALIST ON ART FROM HER NATIVE ITALIAN REGION OF CALABRIA.

JEWEL OF FLORENCE

The distinctive façade of Florence's Basilica of Santa Maria Novella was completed around [illegible] In addition to masterpieces by [illegible] Giotto [illegible] Masaccio [illegible] Uccello [illegible] Nera

1



2

POWERFUL PATRONS

Botticelli needed patrons to fund his works, and he found financial backing among the powerful Medici family of Florence. The Medici commissioned a variety of projects from the artist, including portraits, religious scenes, and allegorical depictions of mythological figures. In his commissions for the Medici, Botticelli carefully selected subject matter, symbols, and poses to exalt the family and celebrate their Renaissance virtues. Placing the Medici in religious scenes, as in the 1475-76 work "Adoration of the Magi," served to cast them in a pious light, reflecting the belief of the time: That the rich and powerful could be devout Christians while pursuing wealth and worldliness at the same time. ■

3

1. Giuliano de' Medici

Giuliano began his co-rule of Florence with his brother, Lorenzo, in 1469. After Giuliano's murder in 1478, Botticelli was commissioned to paint a memorial portrait, a vibrant yet quiet piece that simply depicts Giuliano with both a saintly and a regal air.

"PORTRAIT OF GIULIANO DE' MEDICI" (1478-80). ACADEMIA DE CARRARA, BERGAMO

SCALA, FLORENCE

2. Cameo Roles

Botticelli's 1475-76 "Adoration of the Magi" shows the Medici in several roles: Cosimo de' Medici is one of the Wise Men, and some say that the red-clad figure (above, middle) is his son Lorenzo, Florence's co-ruler when the painting was created.

"ADORATION OF THE MAGI" (DETAIL) (1475). BASILICA OF SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE

ALBUM

3. Gold Medal

Hair flowing free, a young man holds up a gold medallion bearing the likeness of Cosimo de' Medici. The identity of the sitter is unknown, and many historians have speculated as to his relationship to the artist and to the Medici. Some believe he may be the coin's designer.

"PORTRAIT OF MAN WITH A MEDAL OF COSIMO THE ELDER" (1474-75). UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE

SCALA, FLORENCE

"PORTRAIT OF A LADY" (CIRCA 1480). STÄDEL MUSEUM, FRANKFURT, GERMANY
AKG/ALBUM

"PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN IN PROFILE" (1475). GEMALDEGALERIE, STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN – SCALA FLORENCE

FAMILIAR FACE

DURING HER SHORT LIFE, Simonetta Cattaneo was considered one of the most beautiful women in Renaissance Florence. Born in 1453 in Genoa, at age 15 she wed Marco Vespucci and moved to Florence. Her short life ended in her early 20s in 1475 or 1476, but the fame of her beauty long outlived her. Lorenzo the Magnificent, co-ruler of Florence at the time, dedicated a sonnet to her on the day of her death. To the Medici, Simonetta's face perfectly accorded with their notions of ideal beauty. Soon after she died, the poet Poliziano wrote of how Lorenzo's brother, Giuliano de' Medici, had dedicated his victory in a jousting tournament to Simonetta a year before she died (the poet was careful to stress the relationship was entirely platonic). Although there is no documentary evidence that Botticelli painted female figures with her in mind, a long-standing tradition has identified Simonetta's physiognomy in several of his best-known works, including "Primavera" and "Birth of Venus." ■

RITES OF SPRING

Botticelli completed "Primavera" (Spring) in 1482 for a relative of Lorenzo de' Medici. The painting depicts a classical allegory, with the action proceeding from right to left: The nymph Chloris is seized by Zephyr and transformed into Flora, goddess of spring. Above Venus, at the center, Cupid fires an arrow of love at the three Graces as they dance. To the left, Mercury shoos away clouds from the garden. One reading of the picture is as an allegory emphasizing a Neoplatonist take on love and marriage, as desire is transformed and sanctified on a higher plane. ■

Mercury, his right hand raised, waves his caduceus (staff with entwined serpents) to expel threatening clouds.

The Graces, servants of Venus, dance intertwined. They represent the refined qualities of love, beauty, and chastity

"PRIMAVERA." (1482). UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE

ORONOZ/ALBUM

Cupid, blindfolded and representing erotic love, flies among the trees and over his mother Venus while aiming an arrow at a target.
Zephyrus, the west wind who heralds spring, swoops down to seize the nymph Chloris.
Venus, goddess of love, surveys the action. Beside her stands a myrtle, the tree sacred to her.
Chloris, a wild and free nymph, tries to flee from Zephyr, but he has caught her in his grasp.
Flora, goddess of spring, is covered with flowers and scatters roses. She is the product of Chloris's union with Zephyr.

4

VICTORY FOR THE MEDICI

The period of Botticelli's mythological paintings concluded with "Pallas and the Centaur," completed around 1485. A woman holds a centaur—a mythical half man, half horse—by the hair, a gesture that tames him. The woman has been identified as either Camilla, a female warrior from Roman mythology, or Pallas Athene, Greek goddess of wisdom. Like "Primavera," this work lends itself to several interpretations. One theory, which emerged in the 19th century, maintains that it is an exaltation of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who had concluded a peace treaty with the bellicose kingdom of Naples. In this allegory, the sea behind is the Bay of Naples. The centaur represents the uncouth King of Naples, while Pallas—whose gown Botticelli has covered with intricate details, including the emblem of the Medici—represents the wisdom and subtlety of Florence. This reading accords with a key tenet of Neoplatonic thought, in which coarse instincts must be tamed by reason. ■

"PALLAS AND THE CENTAUR," (1480-85) UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE

MONDADORI/ALBUM

"MADONNA WITH CHILD" (CIRCA 1480). GALLERIA SABAUDA, TURIN, ITALY

5 DEVOTIONALS

THE MADONNA AND CHILD was a popular subject for Botticelli from the beginning of his career. Some of his earliest recognized works depict this sacred subject. Perhaps the most famous is the 1483 *tondo* known as the "Madonna of the Magnificat," which subtly reflects the innovations in Botticelli's artistic vision. Some aspects of the painting nod to tradition: The blue of Mary's garb symbolizes loyalty, while the red of her dress, and the fruit held by the Christ child, represent Jesus' coming Passion. The Madonna is depicted with naturalness and grace, reflecting the regard for humanism of the times. In many works, Mary is shown reading, but here Botticelli has depicted her writing. She pens a passage from the Gospel of Luke—the *Magnificat*, or *Mary's Song*. Its first line runs: *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*, "My soul proclaims the greatness of the Lord," and Botticelli has chosen to emphasize humility before God by having Jesus' hand rest on the word *humilitas* in the book.

ABOVE AND RIGHT: SCALA, FLORENCE

"MADONNA OF THE MAGNIFICAT" (1483). UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE

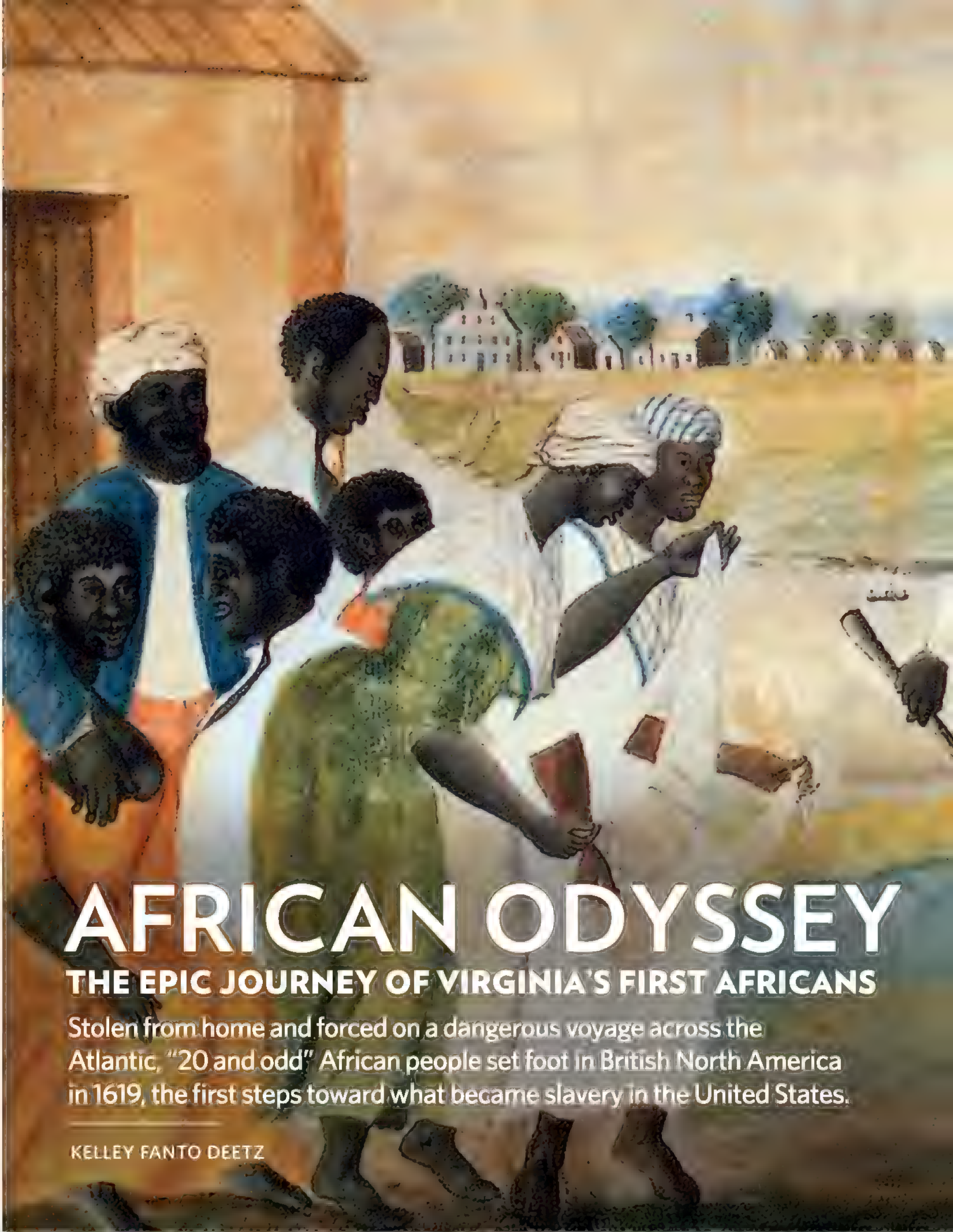
A TRAGIC TALE

6

LIKE MANY Botticelli works, "The Tragedy of Lucretia" was commissioned as a wedding gift. Created in the 1490s, the painting depicts one brutal foundation story of the Roman republic as told by first-century A.D. Roman historian Livy: The Roman king's son rapes the chaste Lucretia, who kills herself after the attack. Her death rallies the people of Rome to overthrow the king and found the republic. Botticelli depicted the story in three scenes. The far left panel shows the king's son holding Lucretia at knifepoint. On the far right, Lucretia's lifeless body is discovered by her shocked family. In the middle and largest panel Lucretia's dead body is displayed as Lucius Junius Brutus, future founder of the Republic, stirs unrest among the people, turning them against the tyrannical

king. Some art historians read Botticelli's painting as commentary on the Medicis's recent loss of power in Florence. The historical parallels seem clear. Just as the ancient king was expelled from Rome and a republic established in 509 B.C., Florentine ruler Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici was forced into exile in 1494, and a republic established under the friar Savonarola. Critics of this theory have pointed out that the Vespuccis, allies of the Medicis, commissioned this work as a wedding gift, an unlikely venue for political commentary. A definitive interpretation may never be reached, but Botticelli's storytelling powers are undisputed as the raw emotion of Lucretia's brutal attack and tragic death emanates through the painting. ■

SAVONAROLA IN A CELEBRATORY MEDAL. MUSEUM OF SAN MARCOS, FLORENCE



AFRICAN ODYSSEY

THE EPIC JOURNEY OF VIRGINIA'S FIRST AFRICANS

Stolen from home and forced on a dangerous voyage across the Atlantic, "20 and odd" African people set foot in British North America in 1619, the first steps toward what became slavery in the United States.

KELLEY FANTO DEETZ

KING'S RIVER
England had made several unsuccessful attempts to start a colony in North America before founding Jamestown in 1607 along the banks of the river they named after King James I (above).

NG IMAGE COLLECTION

VIRGINIA'S BEGINNINGS

IN 1619 THE ENGLISH were beginning to see success in their early colonization attempts in North America. Thirteen years earlier, in December 1606, the London-based Virginia Company had sent three ships, captained by Christopher Newport, to colonize the eastern coast of North America. On May 14, 1607, he and his all-male passengers arrived on the shores of the James River, in an area ruled by the Powhatan. They were later joined by more settlers, including women, and were able to establish Jamestown as the first successful English settlement in the Americas. By 1619, Virginia had become an established colony; in July it held the first gathering of the General Assembly, marking the formality of law in the young colony, and English settlements began to expand inland.

In late August 1619, "20 and odd" captive Africans first touched the soil at Point Comfort, part of England's new colony in Virginia. These men and women had been stolen from their homes in Africa, forced to board a ship, and sailed for months into the unknown. The first Africans in an English colony, their arrival is considered by many historians to be the beginning of a 400-year story filled with tragedy, endurance, survival, and a legacy of resilience, inequality, and oppression.

These first Africans in Virginia were not the first Africans in North America, but they were a significant part of the ever changing Atlantic world during the colonial era. Their travels and experiences represent those of more than 12.5 million other captives, who were taken from Africa to be sold in the Americas during the nearly four centuries of the transatlantic slave trade. Their story marks an important historical transition, as the North American colonies began to turn away from indentured servitude and instead rely on chattel slavery.

Slavery in Africa

On the west coast of central Africa in the 1600s, the Portuguese were in the midst of a war with Ndongo, a powerful west African kingdom located between the Lukala and Kwanza rivers, in present-day Angola. The people of Ndongo

FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA

1483
Portugal connects with the Kingdom of Kongo. The two nations establish diplomatic, religious, and commercial ties that will form the basis of the transatlantic slave trade.

1490s
Spain founds its first "New World" colonies. Many European settlements will follow in the coming decades, and the demand for labor will increase.

1501–1505
The Spanish and Portuguese bring enslaved Africans to work in the Americas. Santo Domingo becomes the New World's first international slave port.

POISONOUS PARTNERSHIP

An engraving from 1598 shows Portuguese sailors saluting the King of Kongo. The two nations forged a centuries-long relationship centered on the transatlantic slave trade.

GETTY IMAGES

lived in developed cities and towns surrounding their capital city, Kabasa. The capital was where royalty lived, along with approximately 50,000 citizens. In 1618, Portuguese forces aligned with Ndongo's adversaries, neighboring Imbangala mercenaries, to invade the kingdom. They captured thousands of prisoners to sell into slavery.

These political relationships were spawned 135 years earlier. In 1483, the Portuguese first forged a relationship with the Kingdom of Kongo. Portuguese explorers aimed to spread Catholicism in Africa, colonize both people and land, and grow rich. Upon developing a trade deal with the Portuguese, the Kongo King Nkuwu converted to Catholicism. After his death, his son and heir, King Nzinga Mbemba, took the name King Afonso I and declared the kingdom a Catholic state, firmly bonding the two nations.

In 1512, Afonso I negotiated an agreement with the Portuguese giving them rights to land and direct access to Kongo's prisoners of war, who would be sold into the transatlantic slave trade. This arrangement provided a model that other European nations and western and central African kingdoms would follow for centuries afterward.

The first people sold were mostly prisoners of war. African kingdoms were often in conflict, at times absorbing smaller nations or kinship

1584–1612

The English begin establishing colonies in the Americas. After an attempt in Roanoke, North Carolina, fails, successful colonies are founded at Jamestown, Virginia, and St. George's, Bermuda.

1619

The *San Juan Bautista* leaves for New Spain with a cargo of about 350 Africans. English pirates attack the ship and seize approximately 50 people, who are taken to the British colonies.

IN THE LATE 1600S, PORTUGAL BEGAN MINTING COINS, SUCH AS THE MACUTA (RIGHT), FOR USE IN AFRICA.

SCALA, FLORENCE

LONG LIVE THE QUEEN

QUEEN ANA NZINGA was born in 1583, and in 1624, at the age of 42, she became the Queen of Ndongo, just five years after the Angolans arrived in Virginia. Her reign came amidst the ongoing war between the Portuguese, and her people of Ndongo. She attempted to shift the political partnership between the states, offering herself as a convert to Catholicism in return for the termination of slave raids that were devastating her people. Portugal's colonial Governor agreed, and acted as her godfather for the conversion. Queen Nzinga maintained a strong political relationship with the Portuguese for two years, but in 1626 they betrayed her and began taking Ndongo captives again. As a result, she established a nearby state, Matamba, which acted as a refuge for victims of the trade, meanwhile ordering her militia to attack the Portuguese who had taken over her former state of Ndongo. Queen Nzinga ruled until her death at the age of 81.

QUEEN NZINGA, ARMED WITH A BOW AND ARROW, LEADS A MILITARY BAND IN THIS ILLUSTRATION CREATED BY ITALIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE MID-1600S.
ALBUM

groups into themselves. The vast ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity in these kingdoms allowed for easily identifiable differences among groups, making it easier for kingdoms to sell their enemies in exchange for weapons and goods to expand and protect their territories. Grand empires, such as the Kongo, Dahomey, Yoruba, Benin, and Asante, were vying for wealth and power in their regions, and Europeans were in need of laborers to build their colonies. It was the ideal circumstance to bring about the largest forced migration in human history.

In just two years, 1618 and 1619, the Portuguese-Imbangala alliance resulted in the capture and enslavement of thousands of Ndongo people, filling at least 36 ships with human cargo. These captives would be sent to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America to work as laborers. It was through this arrangement that slavery would spread to British North America in 1619, when chaos intervened and the destiny of those "20 and odd" Africans was redirected to a place called the Colony of Virginia on the Atlantic coast.

Dangerous Passage

In the spring of 1619, the Portuguese-Imbangala campaign was in full force, capturing and selling Ndongo prisoners into the Atlantic world. Captain Manuel Mendes da Cunha, of the Spanish slave ship *San Juan Bautista*, stopped in Luanda, the capital of what was then Portuguese Angola, to purchase human cargo to take to Veracruz, New Spain, in present-day Mexico. He bought approximately 350 Africans, many of them likely captured from the Ndongo empire. His ship left the port for a months-long voyage across the ocean.

They entered the Middle Passage, a phrase used to describe both the trip itself and the shipping of people from the coasts of Africa to the European colonies in the Americas. Conditions aboard the ships were dreadful; a lack of food and water, physical abuse, and severe overcrowding led to the death of approximately 30 percent of the captives on any given ship. To survive the Middle Passage was a feat in itself: Hundreds of ships sank, small- and large-scale revolts broke out, and disease and starvation were widespread. The *San Juan Bautista* was no exception, as sickness took hold aboard the vessel. Of the 350 captured and enslaved African men, women, and children, roughly 150 died on the journey west.

In addition to the trauma of widespread death on the *San Juan Bautista*, the crew was also concerned about English privateers, who were assigned to take any goods aboard Spanish and Portuguese ships. By this period, both Spain and Portugal had colonized much of the Americas, and the British were in fierce competition for both land and power in the so-called New World. In previous decades, Englishmen such as Sirs Humphrey Gilbert, Richard Grenville, John Hawkins, Walter Raleigh, and Francis Drake were sent by Queen Elizabeth I to the Atlantic and Caribbean, where they attacked and seized goods from Spanish ships and colonies.

It was because of this complex political climate that the Africans aboard the *San Juan Bau-*

SCULPTORS IN THE KONGO CREATED NKISI, POWER FIGURES LIKE THIS ONE FROM THE 19TH CENTURY, THAT WERE BELIEVED TO POSSESS MYSTICAL FORCES. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

BLENDED CULTURES

Don Francisco de Arobe (above right) descended from the escaped slaves who built a robust community in Ecuador's coastal Esmeraldas region. He and his son's apparel blend European and South American styles.

ALBUM

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

BY THE TIME THE ANGOLANS arrived in Virginia, the transatlantic slave trade had been in existance for more than 100 years. As early as 1501, both Portugal and Spain began building up their young colonies in Brazil and Uruguay through slave labor. Other European colonizers soon followed; Great Britain in the 1550s, France in the 1570s, the Netherlands in the 1590s, and Denmark in the 1640s. In the 1500s, the Spanish were the first to bring enslaved Africans to North America as part of their colonization efforts in Florida and the Carolinas. By 1620, close to 520,000 captured and enslaved African men, women, and children had already been sold into chattel slavery by several European nations. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies alone accounted for approximately 475,000 enslaved people.

tista found themselves in an unexpected turn of events. In late July or early August 1619, just weeks before the Ndongo captives would have been sold through the port of Veracruz, the ship was attacked by pirates searching for Spanish gold.

The *White Lion,* commanded by Cornishman John Jope, and the *Treasurer,* owned by Sir Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick, and led by Captain Daniel Elfrith, were assigned the duty of intercepting and seizing Spanish goods in the Atlantic. The English wanted these privateers to slow down Spanish settlement and empowered them to attack Spanish ships. This particular encounter, in the bay of Campeche, left all three ships damaged, and the English pirates stole approximately 50 Africans as part of their overall booty.

After the battle, the *San Juan Bautista* continued to Veracruz, where 147 surviving enslaved Africans would be sold. The *Treasurer* and *White Lion* left the battle and sailed toward the eastern Caribbean. The 50 Angolans on board the two ships had lived through the Middle Passage from Luanda to the Gulf of Mexico. They had witnessed death and endured despair and violence, and had survived it all—including an attack by pirates.

Arrival in Virginia

The English pirates split the captive Africans into two groups between their ships. Both vessels sailed toward the British Colony of Virginia, which was established in 1607. The *White Lion* arrived first, landing at Point Comfort, in present-day Hampton, Virginia. English colonist John Rolfe recorded the event:

> *. . . a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunnes arrived at Point-Comfort, the Commandors name Capt. Jope. He brought not any thing but 20. And odd Negroes, w[hich] the Governo[r] and Cape Merchant bought for victuals.*

His clinical summation is the only documentation of the event and falls short of capturing any details of that day in late August 1619 as "20 and odd" Africans placed their feet on the

soil of a new continent. As they stood together as the first Africans in British North America, no one recorded their reactions or opinions about leaving their homes in Angola. Their perspective was lost in time.

The second ship, the *Treasurer,* arrived a few days later for a quick trade at nearby Kicotan (now Hampton), Virginia, but quickly departed for Bermuda. They traded their remaining goods and sold the rest of the Africans upon their arrival. The English colonies were expanding and the captives supplied them with an instant and distinguishable workforce. The Spanish and Portuguese capture and enslavement of Africans as laborers in the Atlantic world was common practice by the time Jamestown was established, and the British followed suit. By the end of the 17th century, the colonies' reliance on indentured servants had shifted toward that of enslaved African people.

By March 1620, 32 Africans were documented living in Virginia; 15 men and 17 women. The first American-born African likely was either at Flowerdew Hundred Plantation or at Kicotan, both nearby settlements on the James River. In 1624, this small African population had shrunk to only 21, most likely from death due to illness, the 1622 Powhatan uprising, or because some were sold back into the Atlantic trade.

There is no record stating the official legal status of these first Africans in Virginia. There was already an established racial caste in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, and it is fair to presume the English followed this custom. They most likely saw these Africans as something other than indentured servants, a status common for their poor white counterparts.

Early Virginia census records show that many Africans were never listed by name, just their "race," and cited their appearance as starkly

MAPPING THE COLONY

Point Comfort (above) is one of the many features indicated on the extremely detailed map of the Virginia region that Captain John Smith created for England in the early 1600s.

A.BUM

"He brought not any thing but 20. And odd Negroes, w[hich] the Governo[r] and Cape Merchant bought for victuals."

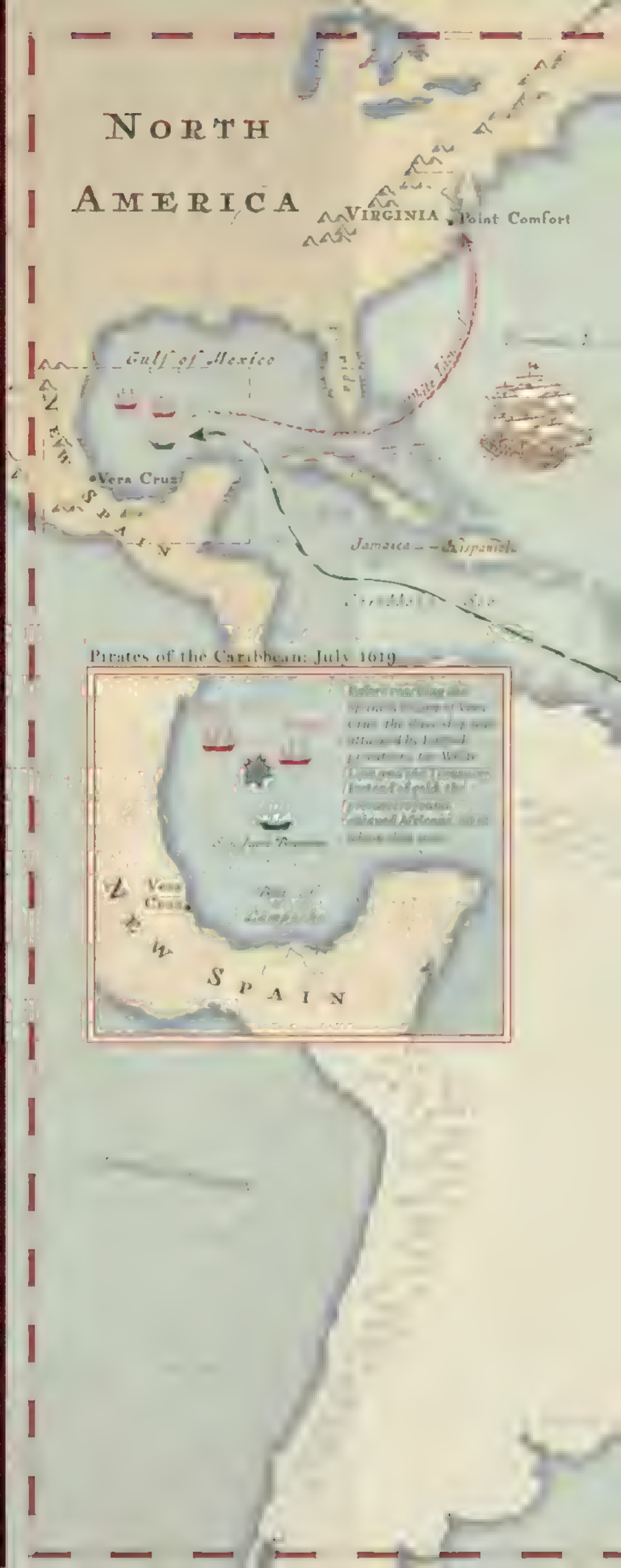
—John Rolfe, August 1619

ALBUM

THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE brought the first Africans to Virginia in 1619, but their final destination was supposed to be in Veracruz in New Spain. The Spanish and Portuguese began bringing enslaved Africans to the Americas in the early 16th century, and their colonies quickly grew dependent on forced labor. Enslaved Africans were forced to do a wide array of jobs: clearing fields, mining for precious metals, farming the land, and building the churches and homes for their captors. Many of the enslaved Africans were highly skilled artisans, farmers, and warriors. Some were even royalty.

BY 1620, more than a half million Africans had been sold into chattel slavery by several European nations, with Spain and Portugal responsible for the majority. The 1619 shipment of people from Ndongo was redirected by two English privateers, who brought approximately 50 people to Virginia. Their arrival marked the expansion of the transatlantic slave trade into North America. British colonies there would also grow dependent on enslaved labor and encouraged the development of the so-called "Triangle Trade," as raw goods were created in the Americas to be consumed by Europeans, who then used the proceeds to procure more slaves for the colonies. By the time the slave trade ended in 1865, approximately 12.5 million people had been shipped to the New World, with slightly more than 10 million surviving the Middle Passage. Most Africans were headed to the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. Historians estimate that only about 388,000 went directly to North America.

NG MAPS/ROSEMARY WARDLEY



From Africa to the Americas

EUROPE

AFRICA

SOUTH AMERICA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Arrival in Virginia: August 1619

After capture by the privateers, the Africans arrived in the new English colony of Virginia.

VIRGINIA

Jamestown

Kecoughtan (Hampton)

Point Comfort

Journey's Start: March April 1619

The Spanish slave ship San Juan Bautista leaves Luanda the capital of Portuguese Angola with approximately 350 enslaved Africans from the Kingdom of Ndongo

KONGO

NDONGO

Luanda

Kabasa

Rivers Lucala & Zenza

YORUBA

ASHANTE

Gulf of Guinea

Luanda

NDONGO

San Juan Bautista

CLAY PIPES FOUND IN VIRGINIA DATE TO THE 17TH CENTURY AND BEAR DESIGNS THAT REFLECT THE INFLUENCE OF WEST AFRICAN CULTURE. STRATFORD PLANTATION, VIRGINIA.

AMY CONNOLLY/STRATFORD HALL PLANTATION

TRACES OF THE PAST

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES throughout the African diaspora yield rich data that can reveal heritage and ancestry. Handmade pipes , like the ones excavated at the Cliffs Plantation at Stratford Hall (left), dating to the 1650s, are valuable because of the insight they give scholars. The ones from Stratford Hall were handmade by the enslaved Africans who lived there, and the designs etched in the clay are specific to their cultures. Similar designs are found carved into objects throughout the Atlantic world. These clues help render a fuller interpretation of the early colonies and of the people who built the nation. These pipes may also hold the DNA of the people who used them. In 2019, scholars were able to collect DNA from a 19th-century clay pipe found in Maryland and trace it back to modern-day Sierra Leone, most likely to the Mende people in West Africa.

PRESENCE OF A COIN

Minted in 1602, a silver sixpence (below) was recovered by archaeologists at the Jamestown fort. Coins like this one help to date and identify the site.

NG MAGE COLLECTION

different from that of the colonists. This distinction marks the beginnings of a racial caste, formalized into Virginia law by the early 1650s, when African men and women become tithables, or a taxable property. By the 1660s, the enslaved status of African women was written into Virginia law, as their children automatically inherited their status and were enslaved at birth, regardless of the father's identity. This set up slavery as a permanent, hereditary condition. A series of laws, called slave codes, followed, each one cementing racism firmly in the DNA of the United States.

Culture Clues

Historians know few details about the first "20 and odd" Africans in Virginia. It is assumed that they spoke forms of the Bantu language, either Kikongo, from the Kongo Kingdom, or Kimbundu, from the Ngongo empire. Their documented names are of Spanish origin and most likely were assigned to them during their time on the *San Juan Bautista*. A few of them, and some of those who followed shortly after in the early 1620s, left clues to their lives in Virginia's courts and records. In 1624, court records show the testimony of "John Phillips" and the census lists "Anthony" and "Isabella" as living in Elizabeth City, and "Angelo (Angela)" at Jamestown. It is this brevity that keeps the details of their lives absent from most written records and hinders current understanding of their experiences.

Some of the English colonists might have failed to see the ethnic and religious diversity among their captives. But many slavers sought out particular ethnic groups for their skills. In addition to farming, these kingdoms were known for their ironwork, masonry, glassmaking, weaving, and mining—all skills needed in the development of the colonies. The Kongo were well-known metalworkers and brought with them unmatched skill sets.

Angola was home to the Kongo Kingdom, which converted to Catholicism in the 15th century, but inhabitants still retained many of their own religious practices. Traditional rituals and beliefs, such as ancestor worship, were intermixed

STOWAGE OF THE BRITISH SLAVE SHIP BROOKES UNDER THE

REGULATED SLAVE TRADE

Act of 1788.

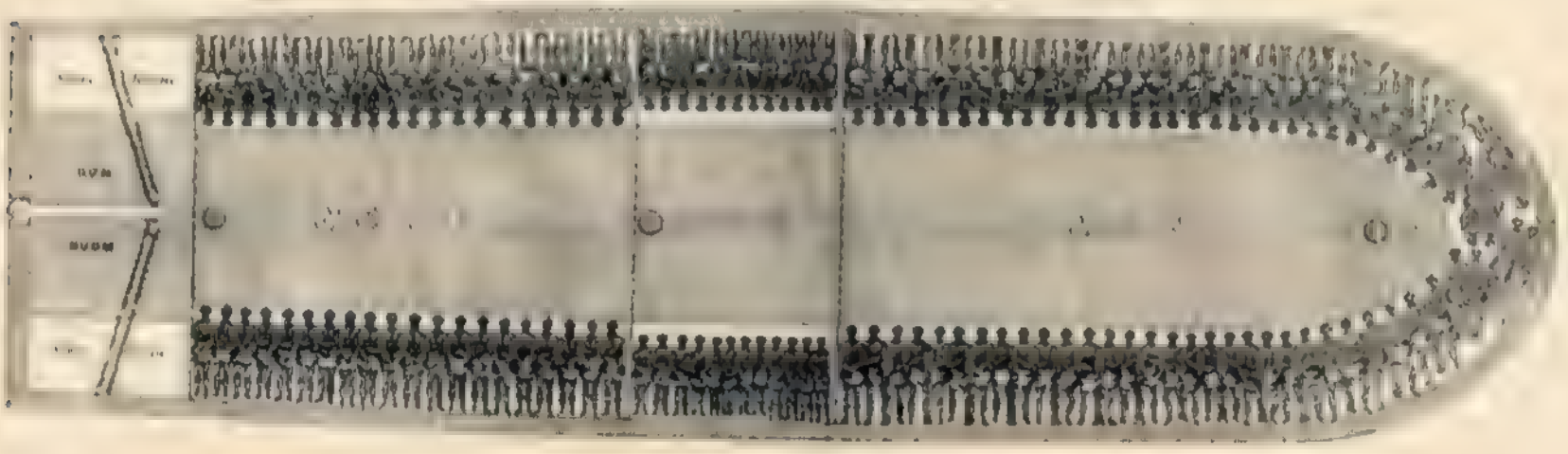
Fig 1.
Longitudinal Section

PLAN OF LOWER DECK WITH THE STOWAGE OF 292 SLAVES

130 OF THESE BEING STOWED UNDER THE SHELVES AS SHEWN IN FIGURE 3 & FIGURE 5.

Fig 2

PLAN SHEWING THE STOWAGE OF 130 ADDITIONAL SLAVES ROUND THE WINGS OR SIDES OF THE LOWER DECK BY MEANS OF PLATFORMS OR SHELVES (IN THE MANNER OF GALLERIES IN A CHURCH) THE SLAVES STOWED ON THE SHELVES AND BELOW THEM HAVE ONLY A HEIGHT OF 2 FEET 7 INCHES BETWEEN THE BEAMS AND FAR LESS UNDER THE BEAMS. See Fig 1



Cross Section at the Poop

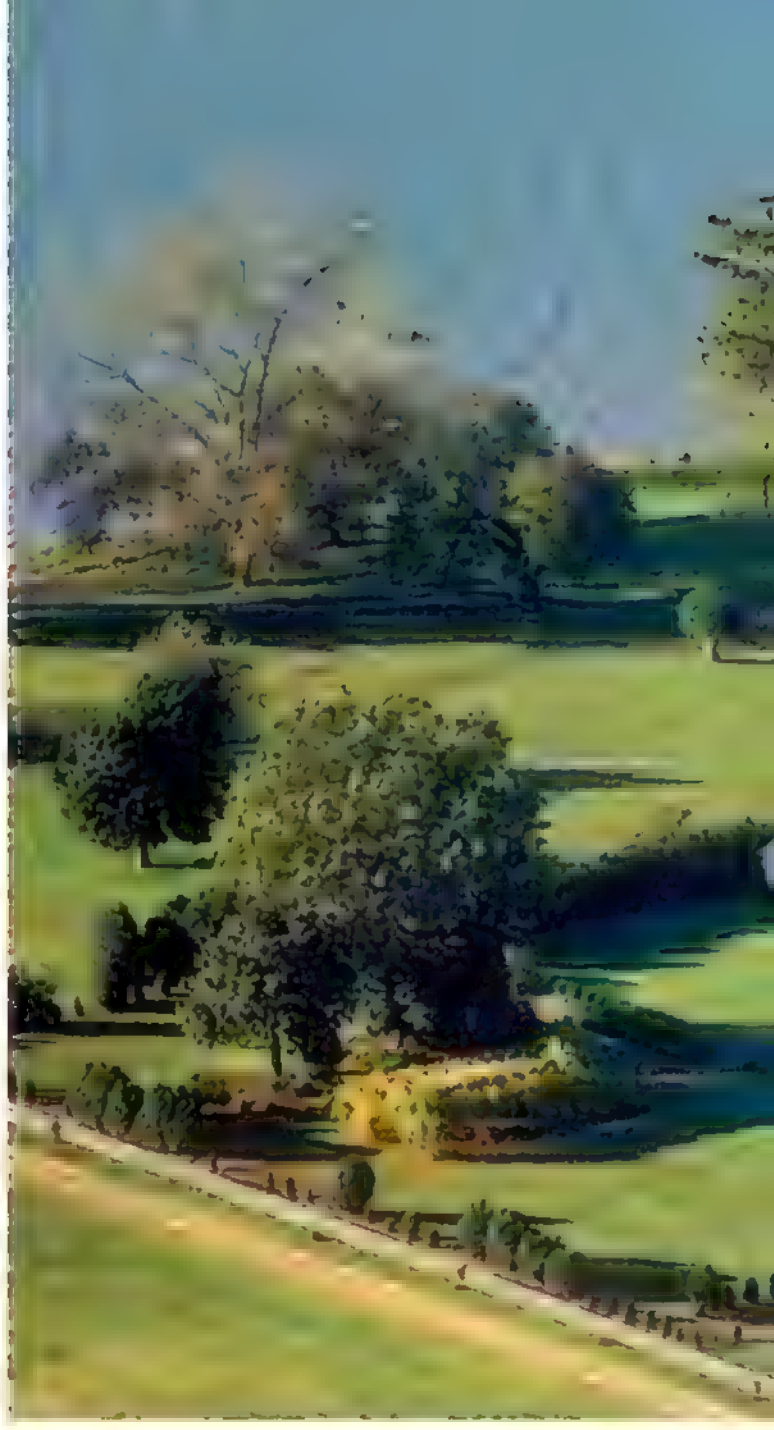
Fig 5
Cross Section amidships

A 1790 ENGRAVING SHOWING THE CRAMPED, INHUMAN STOWAGE ARRANGEMENTS ON THE BRITISH SLAVE SHIP *BROOKES*

A.B.o.M

The Middle Passage

THE JOURNEY FROM the west coast of Africa to the European colonies in the Americas, known as the "Middle Passage," was a hellish experience for African captives. Slave traders packed as many people on their ships as possible, leading to horrific living conditions. Roughly 30 percent died along the way, due to shortages of food and water, disease, abuse, and revolts. The exact number of people who died from each cause is unknown, but scholars estimate that more than one million Africans did not survive the Atlantic crossing.



LOOKING FOR ANGELA

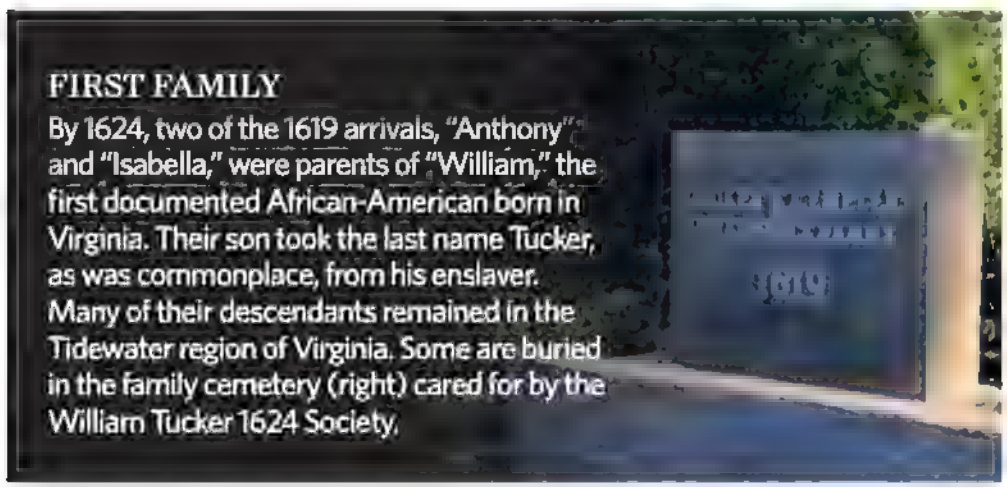
SCHOLARS are searching for a woman named Angela, one of the captured Angolans to arrive on the *Treasurer* in 1619. She was listed as "Angelo" in the 1624 census, living in Lieutenant William Pierce's home in Jamestown, along with three white indentured servants. Although her name sounds masculine, she is listed as a woman and referred to as both Angelo and Angela. She was born in Angola around 1600, and her name was likely changed by her enslavers. In 2017, archaeologists at Jamestown began excavating her site and found a cowrie shell, which likely belonged to Angela. They believe it represents something important from her African homeland. In West and central Africa, cowrie shells were used as currency, adornment, and in religious practices.

PRECIOUS THINGS

Cowrie shells (above) were valuable in many West African cultures and used as currency. When found at archaeological sites in the "New World," they indicate an African presence.

ALBUM

with Catholic rites. Archaeologists working at colonial sites have found traces of it in the material culture; the Kongo cosmogram, a cross-like mark, often with a circle encompassing it, can be found carved into objects such as pipes and bowls and into walls and metal throughout the African diaspora. This symbol, often mistaken for a cross, had a double meaning; it could pass as Christian while also performing essential ritual purposes. This symbol was used to pray to and conjure the African ancestors for protection.



FIRST FAMILY

By 1624, two of the 1619 arrivals, "Anthony" and "Isabella," were parents of "William," the first documented African-American born in Virginia. Their son took the last name Tucker, as was commonplace, from his enslaver. Many of their descendants remained in the Tidewater region of Virginia. Some are buried in the family cemetery (right) cared for by the William Tucker 1624 Society.

AMY BRIGGS

It is through the markings carved into pipes and other material objects, mostly found through archaeological investigations, that historians are given a glimpse into the Africans' personal lives. Their religion, ethnicity, and culture survived the Middle Passage and took hold in the colonies. The first Africans in Virginia were followed by more than 400,000 people captured and brought directly from West and central Africa to the North American slave ports, from New England to New Orleans. Written records are mostly limited to names, sex, and monetary value, and occasionally occupation; more-detailed descriptions typically are found only in advertisements about runaway slaves. This leaves historians with a limited amount of information, and as such, a heavy reliance on archaeological data and oral tradition.

Dark Legacy

While slavery existed for millennia in other cultures around the world before 1619, it transformed significantly in the Americas. Traditional African slavery was vastly different from what

developed in the colonies. In African kingdoms, slavery was not permanent nor was it inherited. Children of slaves were not automatically enslaved, and they could be socially and politically mobile.

In the "New World," slavery transformed. It was permanent and hereditary. The enslaved had few or no civil rights. They could be bought and sold at their owners' discretion. The social construct of race became tightly tethered to legal status, causing problems that ripple down to the present day.

As the 400th anniversary of the 1619 arrival approached, more people actively tried to trace their roots back to their African ancestors' arrival in the colonies. Some are fortunate, like members of the William Tucker 1624 Society. Many members can trace their lineage back to William Tucker, believed to be the first African-American child born in Virginia. Their surname was recorded centuries ago, and they have remained connected to this distinct family line.

Unfortunately, the Tuckers are the exception, as most African Americans can only trace their ancestors back to the late 19th century, following emancipation, when African Americans were free to record their own full legal names. Scientific advances in genetics have also given people new tools to find their ancestors via DNA, but creating a full family tree remains unlikely. Few family histories will ever be complete, yet another legacy of the inhumane treatment of enslaved Africans and their descendants.

Looking back to 1619, one realizes it is time to recognize how racist ideology fed the colonization of the Americas and the systematic enslavement and oppression of both Native Americans and captive Africans. Looking forward, one must also see how necessary it is for humanity to try to tell the full story of the millions of Africans who were stolen away.

DR. KELLEY FANTO DEETZ S A HISTOR AN OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA AND D RECTOR OF PROGRAMM.NG, EDUCATION AND ViSITOR ENGAGEMENT AT STRATFORD HA.L IN STRATFORD, ViRGINIA.

LONG HISTORY

Shirley Plantation (above), one of the oldest Virginia plantations, was established in 1613 on the banks of the James, upriver from Point Comfort. The first enslaved Africans were documented there in 1622, the last in 1865.

PAT & CHUCK BLACKLEY/ALAMY

Thamugadi: Saved by the Sands

Once an outpost of Roman might in North Africa, Thamugadi fell into ruin and was buried by the Sahara. It remained untouched for centuries until a Scottish diplomat wandered the desert, looking for remnants of the region's distant past.

It isn't often that entire cities vanish, but the Roman outpost of Thamugadi did. Founded by the emperor Trajan around A.D. 100, the city, also known as Timgad or Tamugas, was located in the North African province of Numidia.

Home to veterans of the Third Augustan Legion, Thamugadi flourished for hundreds of years, becoming prosperous and thus an attractive target for raiders. After a Vandal invasion in 430, repeated attacks weakened the city, which never fully recovered and was abandoned during the 700s.

The desert sands swept in and buried Thamugadi. One thousand years would pass before the city received a visit from a team of explorers led by a maverick Scotsman in the 1700s.

Statesman and Scholar

Best known now for his contested discovery of the source of the Blue Nile in Ethiopia, Scottish nobleman James Bruce was serving as the British consul in the coastal city of Algiers (today the capital of Algeria) in 1763.

Imposingly tall and broad, Bruce was a voracious scholar with a curious mind. Before his arrival in Algiers to take up his post, he spent a few months in Italy poring over the history of the African region and its role in antiquity.

Bruce's short temper and strong opinions soon led to clashes with his superiors in London. In 1765, he lost his appointment. Rather than return to Britain, he and a Florentine artist named Luigi Balugani embarked on an adventure across Africa. On their journey, they kept notes and made illustrations depicting the many extraordinary people and places they encountered.

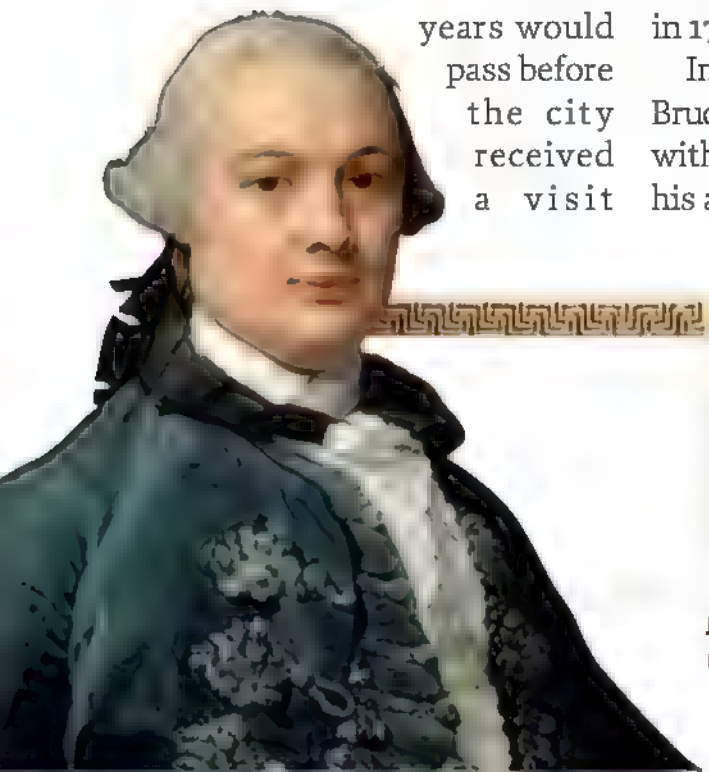
Time in the Desert

In the early stages of this odyssey, they had traveled south to the Algerian desert looking for traces of ancient civilizations. Bruce and Balugani had already seen several Roman ruins as they explored more remote parts of the region.

On December 12, 1765, they reached what they identified as Thamugadi. Many believe that they were the first Europeans in centuries to visit the site, near the northern slopes of

THE ARCH OF TRAJAN built in honor of the Roman emperor, dominates the ruins of Thamugadi, located in modern Algeria.

IVAN VDOVIN/AGE FOTOSTOCK



JAMES BRUCE IN A PORTRAIT BY POMPEO GIROLAMO BATONI, 1762. SCOTTISH NATIONAL GALLERY, EDINBURGH

BRIDGEMAN/AC

1765
Scottish traveler and writer James Bruce, and Italian draftsman Luigi Balugani, arrive in Thamugadi.

1774
On his return to England, Bruce describes Thamugadi in his account of his African journeys.

1875
British consul Robert Lambert Playfair visits Thamugadi and describes its monuments in detail.

1881
France's "Service des Monuments Historiques" begins a systematic excavation of the site

the Aurès mountains. "It has been a small town, but full of elegant buildings," Bruce wrote in his diaries. He was confident that these ruins were what remained of the city founded by Trajan more than a millenium earlier.

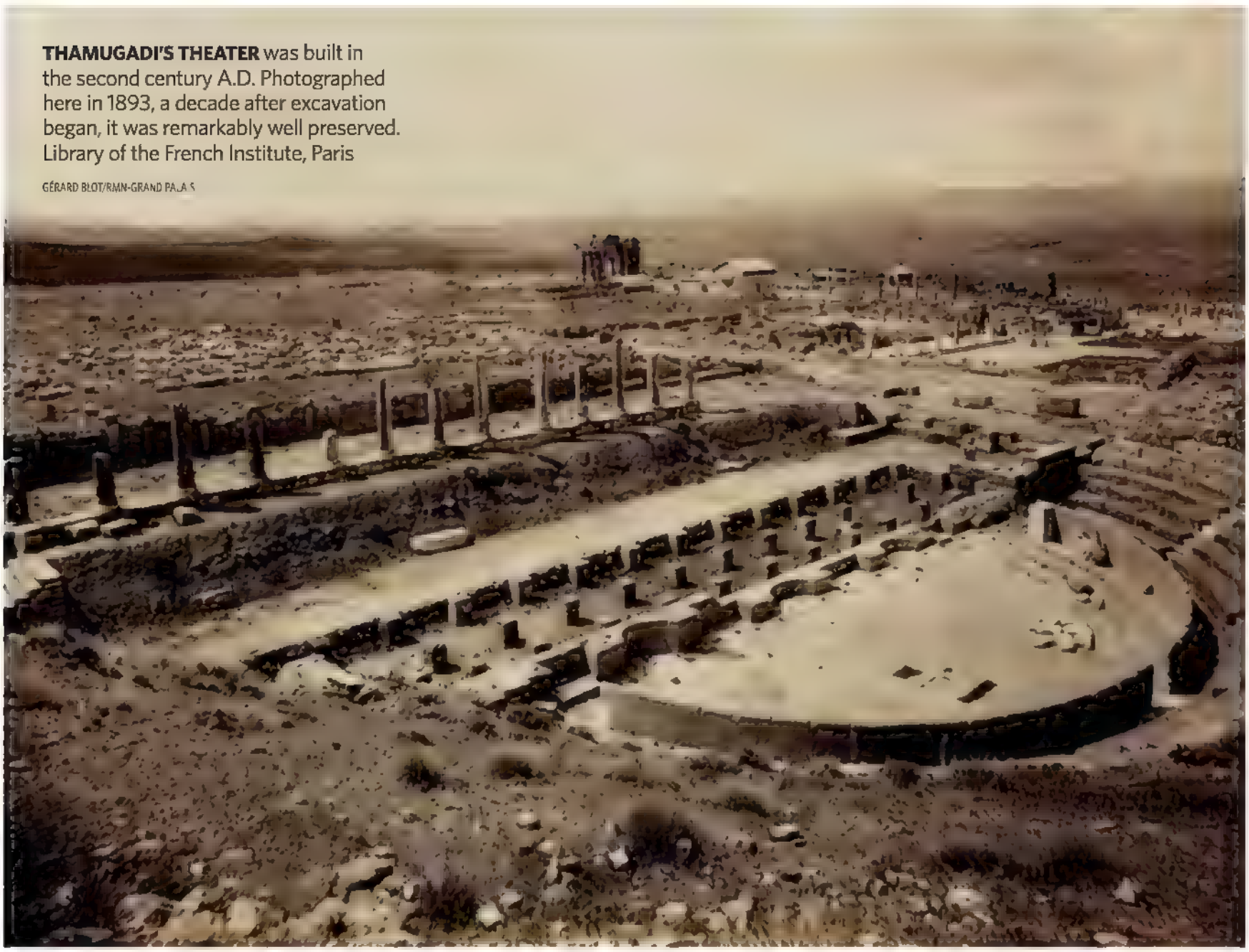
On the first day, Bruce recorded and Balugani drew "the triumphal arch" of Trajan. They returned the next day to continue exploration and identified an amphitheater. Bruce cleared away the sand and uncovered sculptures of the Roman emperor who succeeded Hadrian in A.D. 138, Antoninus Pius, and his wife, Faustina the Elder, works he described as having "exquisite beauty."

Bruce reburied the sculptures in the sand and continued traveling. He documented more sites throughout North Africa and Ethiopia, even claiming to find the source of the Blue Nile. Balugani died in 1770, and Bruce returned to

IN BRUCE'S FOOTSTEPS

IN 1875, MORE THAN A CENTURY AFTER Bruce's visit to Thamugadi, British diplomat Robert Lambert Playfair (right) described a visit there in his book *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis*. He set out under a hospitable Berber guide, appropriately named "Bou Dhiaf, *father of guests* ... who, not without reason, boasts of Roman descent." The road to the ancient site lay through "country covered with Roman remains. We found our camp pitched in the very centre of the ruined city, which allowed us to devote every hour of our stay to its examination."

THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND/BRIDGEMAN/AC



THAMUGADI'S THEATER was built in the second century A.D. Photographed here in 1893, a decade after excavation began, it was remarkably well preserved. Library of the French Institute, Paris

GÉRARD BLOT/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

London in 1774. When he reported his findings, they were greeted with skepticism and disbelief.

Incredulous at this reaction, Bruce retired to Scotland. In 1780, he began writing a memoir of his time in Africa, a five-volume work known as *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*. The book was published in 1790. When Bruce died four years later, much of Britain still refused to recognize his achievements.

BRONZE BUST OF MINERVA FROM THAMUGADI, THIRD CENTURY A.D. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

H. LEWANDOWSKI/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Thamugadi lay largely forgotten in the desert sands until 1875, when it was visited by Robert Lambert Playfair.

Roman Splendor

Thamugadi lay largely forgotten in the desert sands until 1875, when it was visited by Robert Lambert Playfair, Britain's consul in Algiers. In his 1877 book, *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis*, Playfair paid homage to his consular predecessor, visiting some of the sites Bruce had recorded.

Playfair's description of Thamugadi offers more details than Bruce's. His observations revealed the city's regional importance, noting it was built at the intersection of six Roman roads. In Playfair's opinion, the architecture outshone that of the neighboring Roman city Lambaesis, Nubia's military capital. Playfair concluded that Thamugadi was a "center of commercial and agricultural activity."

He also admired the magnificence of the city's Arch of Trajan. On the ground underneath its 20-foot-high portal can still be seen deep ruts from the traffic that passed into the city along the busy imperial highways.

The French took control of the site in 1881, a few years after Playfair's visit,

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THIS FOURTH-CENTURY MOSAIC of the Roman god of the sea, Neptune, in a chariot drawn by hippocamps (part horse, part fish) was found in Thamugadi's eastern baths. Archaeological Museum, Thamugadi

DEA/ALBUM

and maintained a presence there until 1960. During this period, the site was systematically excavated. Having been buried for centuries under sand with nothing built on top of it, Thamugadi is one of only a few Roman cities excavated in its entirety.

Going with the Grain

The research undertaken by Playfair and by French scholars has enabled historians to piece together the history of the city. Originally named Colonia Marciana Trajana Thamurga, in honor of Emperor Trajan's sister, Thamugadi was laid out in a grid. In the mid-third century A.D., the city's population peaked at 15,000. They enjoyed fine public buildings, including a magnificent library and a total of 14 baths. The comfort of Thamugadi's facilities, and the presence of mosaics, has often prompted comparisons with Pompeii.

The city's location was key to protecting the Roman Empire's southern borders. North Africa was a center of grain production, and Rome's Third Augustan Legion was stationed in Thamugadi to protect the grain and its transport to Rome.

Several hundred men would be discharged from the legion every two years, and they settled in Thamugadi as a kind of pension for their service. Their presence also served as a deterrent to invaders.

The city was a manifestation of Roman might on the empire's southern border. Its diverse population saw those who worshipped the old gods living alongside Christians. For a while, it was a stronghold of the heretical Christian sect the Donatists.

The general crisis mounting on the borders of the Roman Empire eventually took its toll on Thamugadi. After being looted by the Vandals during the fifth century, the city began to sink into ruin. After the fall of the western Roman Empire, Thamugadi enjoyed a brief resurgence as a Christian center, and a fort was built outside the city in 539. But the city was abandoned either before or during the Arab invasions of the 700s.

From that point, the Sahara gradually covered Thamugadi, and it stayed hidden for a thousand years until James Bruce and others would rediscover its buried glory. Thamugadi was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1982.

—Rubén Montoya

50th ANNIVERSARY APOLLO 11

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50th Anniversary Apollo 11 Postage Stamp Collection by Philatelic Mint

Twenty-seven official postage stamps commemorating this event displayed in an educational presentation packet

Throughout the ages, men and women have gazed at the Moon in wonder. The Moon had long been a source of mystery, the subject of poetry and dreams—a distant object humankind could only imagine. With the dawn of a new era, though, that began to change. On May 25, 1961, President John F. Kennedy set forth a challenging new goal for the United States: perform a crewed lunar landing and return safely to Earth before the end of the decade. On July 16, 1969 the crew of Apollo 11 set out to achieve this goal – being the first to land on the Moon. Four days later, on July 20, 1969, Neil Armstrong took "one small step for man and one giant leap for mankind", becoming the first person to set foot on another planetary body.

Now, 50 years later, we celebrate this momentous event, which has today led us to think of the Moon as a destination beckoning us toward its continued exploration, now and in the years to come.

From the launch of Apollo 11, through its journey to the Moon and back, the world watched. With excitement and tension building from lift-off to splashdown, humankind stood in awe, witnessing three brave men, Neil Armstrong, Michael Collins and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin, as their craft maneuvered through re-entry and splashed down in the Pacific Ocean.

Licensed by the Smithsonian, Philatelic Mint and island nations from the South Pacific have now issued postage stamps honoring the mission accomplished by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the three men who dared to do what no one had done before...land on the Moon.

Now you can join in celebrating this historic event with a stunning limited edition collection of postage stamps developed in collaboration with the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum, a collection that walks you through the wonders of the journey that the world held its collective breath to watch 50 years ago.

In July 1969 the United States Postal Service issued a commemorative stamp to honor the event, picturing Mission Commander Neil Armstrong planting the US flag on the lunar surface. We are privileged to have a limited number of that 1969 US stamp, and to offer it to you as part of this collection on a first come, first served basis.

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Next Issue

BOUDICA ROUSES HER TROOPS IN A ROMANTICIZED SCENE CREATED BY WILLIAM SHARP IN 1812. NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON. SCALA, FLORENCE. **COLOR:** SANTI PÉREZ

BOUDICA STRIKES AGAINST ROME

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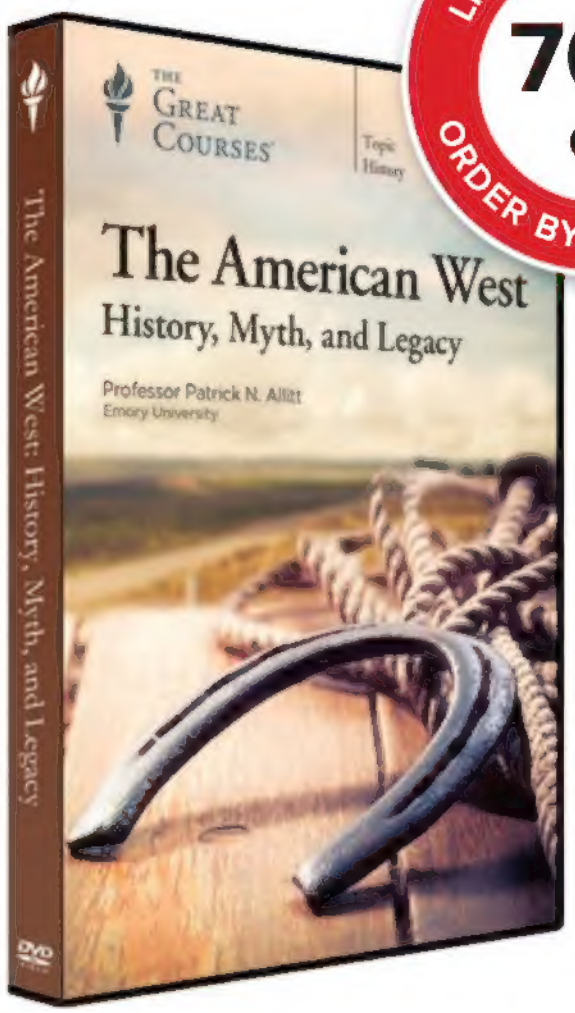

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